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MR. WILLIAM J. HOWARD

IN MEMORY OF HIS LATE WIFE, MRS. ANNIE
HALLECK KELSEY HOWARD, A GRADUATE
OF THE LAW DEPARTMENT,
CLASS OF 1889.

APRIL 8, 1902.

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T H E
S E L E C T W O R K S
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V O L . V .

T H E T H I R D E D I T I O N .

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T H E
C O N T E N T S

O F T H E

F I F T H V O L U M E.

A Key, opening the Way to every Capacity, how to distinguish the Religion professed by the People called Quakers, from the Perversions and Misrepresentations of their Adversaries. With a brief Exhortation to all Sorts of People, to examine their Ways and their Hearts, and turn speedily to the Lord. — — — — — Pag. 1

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be removed, the Simple informed, the Well-inclined encouraged, and the Truth and its innocent Friends rightly reprinted. — — — Pag. 273

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A K E Y,

A
K E Y,

OPENING THE WAY
TO EVERY CAPACITY
HOW TO DISTINGUISH THE
RELIGION professed by the PEOPLE

CALLED
Q U A K E R S

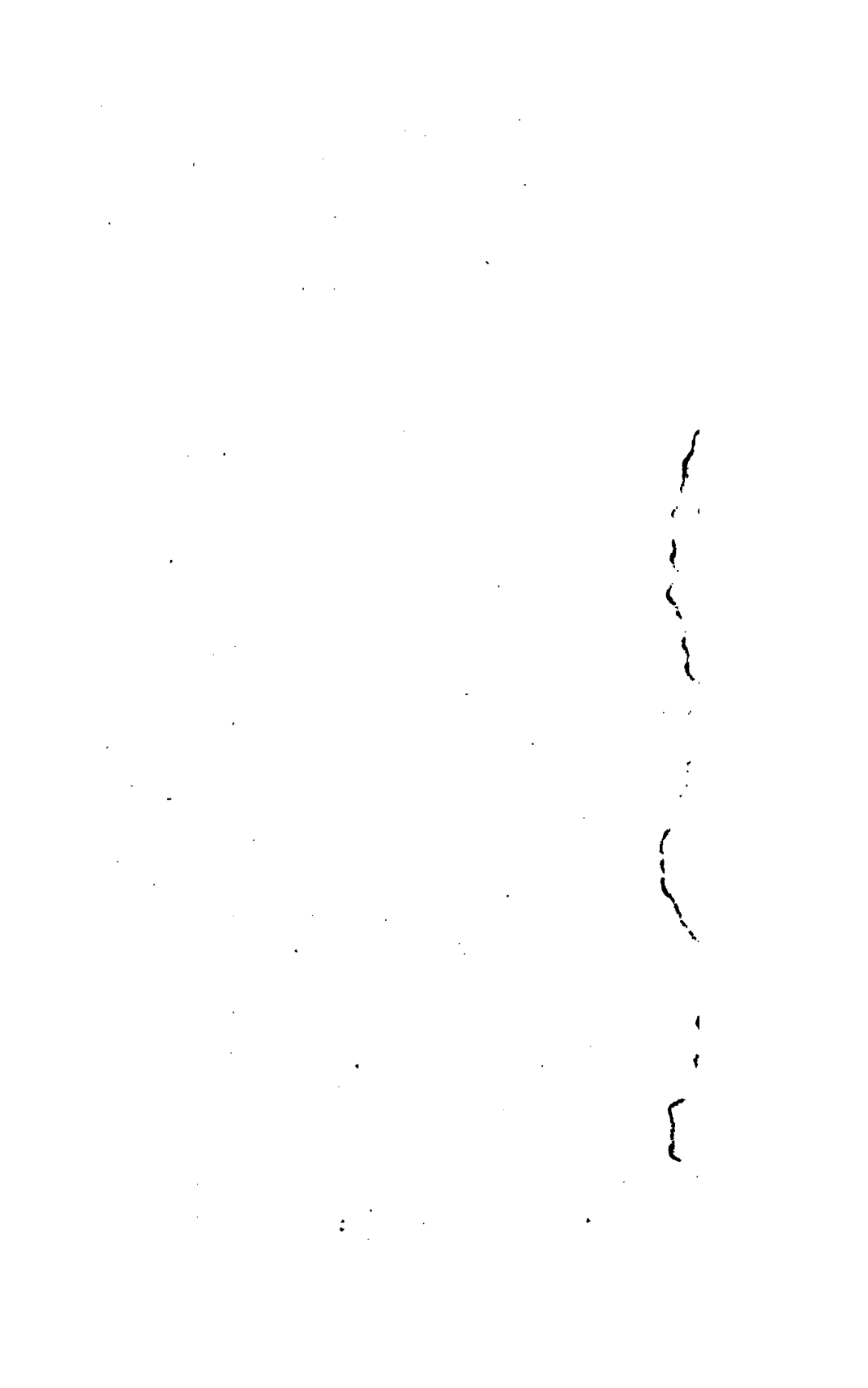
FROM THE
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WITH
A BRIEF EXHORTATION

T O
ALL SORTS OF PEOPLE,

T O
Examine their WAYS and their HEARTS, and turn
speedily to the LORD.

Published in the Year 1692.



T H E
I N T R O D U C T I O N .

R E A D E R ,

Observing the prevailing power of prejudice, and the too great easiness of mankind to be imposed upon by designing persons, and especially on the side of uncharitableness, (so depraved is the nature of man) and considering also what mischievous effects that evil has produced among too many of all sorts of people, to the hurt of civil as well as religious society, by the coldness, jealousy, uncharitableness, and animosity, even to hatred and persecution, (the very contrary and reverse of the true Christian religion) that have thereby abounded; we have the less wondered at the hard treatment we, as a people, have suffered from other persuasions, almost all of them having in their turn, some, I hope, ignorantly, others, I fear, wilfully, misrepresented our principles, misgiven our plain meanings, and called their own strained interpretations, aye, and their downright perversions too, our faith and religion: and thus dressing us in the bear's-skin, the credulous have been excited to look upon and treat us as hereticks, seducers, blasphemers, and what not; while (blessed be God) our aim and bent have been the very power and work of religion upon our souls, that we might be God's workmanship through Christ Jesus, his blessed Son and heavenly Agent; taking this to be the very life and soul of true religion; the effect and fruit of the divine nature, which makes us Christians indeed here, and fits us for glory hereafter. And because we have chosen retirement, moderation, self-denial, which to be sure are the solids and inwards, the spirit and substance of religion, and have therefore waved and sequestered ourselves from more outward and pompous communions, offence has been taken at us, and we have been

disingenuously represented to the world: on which account I have published this little treatise, for the sake of others, as well as in our own vindication, but theirs especially that are under prejudices from vulgar abuses. I would intreat such to consider, that if it be an evil to judge rashly or untruly of any single man, how much greater a sin it is to condemn an whole people: and if the matter about which the judgment is made, renders it more or less evil, certainly to condemn the religion of an whole people in the lump, which at once comprehends their faith, worship, and morals also, must be, if false or mistaken, as great an injustice as can well be committed; and the Almighty will not hold them guiltless that have been so uncharitable and injurious to their neighbours. And this we have frequently lamented as our great unhappiness, above all that our enemies have been able argumentatively to urge against us, that we are yet *unknown* of those that stick not to *condemn* us. But they must certainly be inexcusable, with just minds, that will take our belief at our *enemies* rather than at our *own* hands, who best ought to know what we believe. But it will be the business of this little KEY to explain the pretended obscurity, and shew the difference between our principles, and the vulgar account and apprehensions, and thereby open a way into so clear and plain an understanding of our true principles, from our enemies perversions, that we hope, with God's blessing, all impartial inquirers will be satisfied of our holy and Christian profession: and this we also earnestly desire for their good, that as we have been called of God, out of the evil of the world, to be a people to his praise, through his grace, so none may stumble or be offended at the truth we testify of; but seeing the excellency of it, by the peace and purity it leads into, they may embrace it, and walk in it; which is the best way to end controversy, and obtain the great and true end of religion, the salvation of the soul.

A KEY,

A

K E Y, &c.

S E C T. I.

Of the Light within, what it is, and the virtue and benefit of it to man.

Perversion i. 'THE *Quakers* hold, that the *natural* light in the conscience of every man in the world, is sufficient to save all that follow it; and so they overthrow salvation by *Christ*.' A mighty error indeed, if it were *true*.

Principle. But it is, at best, a great mistake: for their belief and assertion is, "That *Christ*, who is the Word, that was *with* God, and *was* God; (and is *so for ever*) hath lighted every man that cometh into the world, with his *own* light," as he is that *true* light, or *such* a light, as there is no other to be compared with him; which is the meaning of the emphasis *true* in the text, John i. 9. And that such as follow the reproofs, convictions, and leadings of that light, with which he enlightens the understandings and consciences of men, shall not walk in *darkness*, that is, in *evil* and *ignorance* of God, but shall have the *light of life*; that is, be in a *holy* and *living* state or condition towards God: a state of *acceptance* and *salvation*; which is, from *sin* here, as well as from *wrath* hereafter; and for which end *Christ* was given

* John i. 1, 9.

of God.^b So that they assert the *light* of *Christ* to be *sufficient* to *save*; that is, to *convince* of sin, *lead out* of it, and *quicken* the soul in the ways of holiness; and not to be a *natural* light, otherwise than as *all* men, *born* into the world, have a measure of *Christ's* light; and so it may, in a sense, be said to be *natural* to all men, because all men *have it* coming into the world. For this light is *something else* than the bare *understanding* man hath as a *rational* creature; since, as such, man cannot be a *light* to himself; but has only a *capacity* of *seeing*, by means of the light with which Christ, the Word, enlighteneth him. For we can no more be a *mental* or *intellectual* light to ourselves, than we are an *external* and *corporeal* light to ourselves: but as the *sun* in the firmament is the *light* of our *BODIES*, so the *light* of the *Divine Word*, is the *sun* of our *SOULS*; the glorious *luminary* of the *intellectual* world; and they that walk in it, will by it be led to blessedness.^c

Perverf. 2. 'The *Quakers* hold, that the *light* within them is *God*, *Christ*, and the *Holy Spirit*: so that every *Quaker* has *whole* *God*, *Christ*, and *Holy Spirit*, in him; which is gross blasphemy.'

Principle. This is also a mistake of their belief: they never said that *every* divine *illumination*, or *manifestation*, of *Christ*, in the hearts of men, was *whole* *God*, *Christ*, or the *Spirit*; which might render them guilty of that gross and blasphemous absurdity some would fasten upon them: but that *God*, who is *light*, or the *Word Christ*, who is *light*, stiled "the Second Adam, the Lord from heaven, and the quickening Spirit, who is God over all blessed for ever," hath enlightened mankind with a *measure* of saving light; who said, "I am the light of the world; and they that follow me, shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life."^d So that the illumination

^b See Isa. xlix. 6. Johni. 4, 9. c. iii. 21. c. v. 40. c. viii. 12. c. x. 10. ^c Rev. xxi. 24. ^d John i. 4, 8, 12. 1 Cor. xv. 45, 47.

is *from* God, or Christ, the Divine Word; but not therefore that *whole* God, or *Christ*, is in every man, any more than the *whole sun*, or *air*, is in every house or chamber. There are no such harsh and unscriptural words in their writings. It is only a *frightful perversion* of some of their enemies, to bring an odium upon their holy faith. Yet, in a sense, the *scriptures* say it; and that is *their* sense; in which, *only*, they say the same thing. "I will walk in them, and *dwell* in them. He that dwelleth *with* you, shall be *in* you: I will not leave you comfortless, I will *come* to you: I in *them*, and they in *me*: Christ in *us*, the hope of glory. Unless Christ be in *you*, ye are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail again in birth, until Christ be formed *in* you." Now if they who denied his coming in the flesh, though high-professing Jews, were to be accounted Antichrists, because enemies to that appearance and dispensation of God to men; what must they be reputed, who as stiffly disown his *inward*, *nearer*, and more *spiritual* coming, formation, and dominion in the soul; which is to be sure the higher and nobler knowledge of Christ? Yea, "the mystery hid from ages," and now revealed to God's people: "the riches of the glory of the mystery which God reserved to be made known to the Gentiles," of whose stock we are. Certainly though they are called Christians, they must be no whit less Antichrists than those obstinate Jews of old, that opposed his more visible and bodily appearance.

Pervers. 3. 'By the *Quakers* doctrine, every man must be *saved*; for every man, they say, is *savingly* enlightened.'

Principle. Not so neither: for though the *light*, or *grace*, of God hath and doth more or less appear to all men, and that it brings salvation to as many as are

* John xiv. 3, 17, 18, 20. Col. i. 26, 27. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. iv. 19. † Col. i. 27.

taught by it to “deny ungodliness, and worldly lusts, “and to live soberly, and righteously, and godly in “this present world,” as the scripture teacheth; yet it no ways follows that men *must* obey, and *learn* so to do, whether they *will* or not. God tenders *saving* light or grace to *all*, and by it calls all, and strives and pleads with all, according to the measure and manifestation of it: but if they will not *hearken* to it, he is clear of their blood.^s His light is *saving*, that lighteth them; but it cannot be said to *save* them, while they *rebel* against it. In short, though men are lightened or visited with a *saving* light or grace, yet the Quakers never concluded, nor can it rightly be concluded from their testimony, that such men must *necessarily* and *absolutely* be saved, whether they *obey*, or *rebel*.

Perverf. 4. ‘By the *Quakers* light or spirit, they ‘may be moved to murder, adultery, treason, theft, or ‘any such-like wickedness; because they say that such ‘as are so led, have the light within them.’

Principle. This never was their doctrine, nor is it consequent of it: for though they hold that all *have* light, they never said that all *obeyed* it, or that evil men, *as* such, or in *such* things, were *led* by it: much less could the light be chargeable with the sins of those that refused to be led by it. For *herein* they know the Spirit of *God*, and the motions of it, from the spirit of *this* world, and its fruits, ‘that the Spirit of *God* condemneth all *ungodliness*, and moves and inclines to *purity*, ‘*mercy*, and *righteousness*,’ which are of *God*.^h

They deny and abominate that loose and ranting mind, which would charge the Spirit of God with their *unholy liberty*. God’s Spirit makes people *free* from sin, and not to *commit* sin. Neither do they distinguish, as such loose people wickedly do, between

^s John iii. 20, 21. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Gen. vi. 5. Ezek. xviii. 21, 22, 23, 24. Mic. vi. 8. 1 Tim. ii. 4. 2 Pet. iii. 9. Job vii. 17, 18. chap. xxi. 17. chap. xxiv. 13. ^h John iii. 20, 21. Gal. v. 16, 26.

the *act*, and the *evil* of it. Wherefore they say, 'That as the *tree* is known and denominated by its *fruits*; so *spirits* are by their *influences, motions, and inclinations*: and the Spirit of *God* never did incline any one to *evil*.' And for that cause they renounce this construction of the ranters, 'That evil is *no evil*, when they are *led* to it by *God's Spirit*:' for that grossly implies, as if the Spirit of *God* led man at any time to that which is evil *in itself*; or that it were possible to be *sinless* in the *commission* of *sin*, as murder, theft, adultery, revenge, &c. For that never was, nor can be, the way and method of *God's Spirit*, which is *pure* and *holy* for ever; and brings all, that regard the convictions and motions of it, into a *sense* and *sorrow* for *sin*, and so leads them into a state of *reformation*; without which, all profession of religion is mere formality and hypocrisy. So that man's sin and destruction are of *himself*; but his help is in *God alone*, through *Jesus Christ*, our blessed Sacrifice and Sanctifier.

S E C T. II.

Of *Infallibility* and *Perfection*.

Reverf. 5. 'The *Quakers* must be all *infallible* and *perfect*, if they have such an *infallible light* in them.'

Principle. No such matter: this is also a great abuse of their true meaning. They say, 'the principle is *pure, perfect, unerrable, in itself*; or else it were *very unfit* to lead men out of error and impurity.' But they never did assert *themselves* such, merely because it was *within* them: by no means. But that all who are *led* by it, and live according to its manifestation, are *so far* perfect; and *so far* infallible in the right way, as they are *led* by it, and not a jot *farther*. For it is not *opinion, or speculation, or notions*, of what is true¹; or assent to, or the subscription of, articles or

¹ Rom. viii. 4.

propositions, though never so soundly worded, that, according to *their* sense, makes a man a *true* believer, or a *true* Christian: but it is a *conformity* of *mind* and *practice* to the *will* of *God*, in all holiness of conversation, according to the dictates of this divine principle of light and life in the soul, which denotes a person truly a child of God. "For the children of God are led by the Spirit of God; but if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his." And let it be noted, that though this spiritual principle be *in* man, yet, it is not *of* man, but of *God*, through Jesus Christ. Who can lay down a more independent doctrine upon *self*, and a more depending one upon the *grace* or *gift* of *God*? Let us not, I pray, be mistaken, nor suffer for such misapprehensions, nor be made to hold what we do not, on purpose to disrepute us with sober people, or to support the mistaken charges of our enemies. Yet to shew that a state of perfection from sin (though not in fulness of *wisdom* and *glory*) is attainable in this life; they, among others, refer them to these scriptures, which, for brevity's sake, are not set down at large, but the reader is desired to turn to them.

Gen. xvii. 1. Deut. xviii. 13. Job i. 1, 8. ch. ii. 3, &c. viii. 20. Psal. xviii. 32. Psal. xxxvii. 37. and cxix. 1. Prov. ii. 21. Mat. v. 48. Luke vi. 40. 1 Cor. ii. 6. 2 Cor. xiii. 9, 11. Eph. iv. 13. 1 Thes. iii. 10. 2 Tim. iii. 17. Jam. i. 4. 1 Pet. v. 10. Heb. vi. 1. 1 John vi. 7, 8, 9. ch. ii. 20, 27. ch. iii. 5, 6, 7, 8. ch. iv. 17.

S E C T. III.

Of the *Scriptures*, their *truth*, *authority*, and *service*.

Pervers. 6. 'The *Quakers* deny the *scriptures*; for they deny them to be the *word* of *God*.'

^k Rom. viii. 9, 14.

Principle. They own and stile the scriptures, as they own and stile *themselves*; viz. ‘ A declaration of those things most truly believed, given forth, in former ages, by the inspiration of the Holy Spirit; consequently that they are profitable for doctrine, for reproof, for correction, for instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, though roughly furnished unto all good works.’¹ They are the *form of sound words*. We profess to believe them, and read them, and say, it is the work we have to do in this world, and the earnest desire of our souls to Almighty God, that we may feel and witness the *fulfilling* of them in and upon ourselves; that so God’s will may be done in earth, as it is in heaven. But to call them the *word* of God, (the ground of the charge) which they never call *themselves*, but which they peculiarly denominate and call *Christ* by; in reverence to *Christ*, and in no slight to *them* (which they believe to be of divine authority, and embrace as the *best of books*, and allow to be *as much the word* of God, as a *book* can be) they do, as in duty and reason bound, attribute that title to *Christ only*.

And yet, as the *word* of God may, in some sense, signify the *command* of God, referring to the *thing* or *matter* commanded, as the *mind* of God, it may be called the *word* of the *Lord*, or *word* of *God*: as, on particular occasions, the prophets had the *word* of the *Lord* to persons and places; that is to say, the *mind*, or *will*, of God, or that which was commanded them of the *Lord* to declare or do. So Christ uses it, when he tells the Pharisees, that they had “ made the *word* “ (or *command*) of God of none effect by their traditions.”^m But because people are so apt to think, if they have the *scriptures* they have *all*; for that they account them the *only* word of God, and so look no farther; that is, to no *other* word, from whence those good words *came*: therefore this people have been

¹ Luke i. 1. ² Tim. iii. 16, 17. John i. 4, 14. Rev. xix. 13. ^m Mark vii. 13.

constrained, and they believe by God's good Spirit, once and again to point them to the great Word of words, *Christ Jesus*, in whom is *life*, and that life the *light of men*"; that they might feel something *nearer* to them than the scriptures, to wit, the *word in the heart*, from whence all holy scripture *came*, which is "Christ within them, the hope of their glory." And, to be sure, *He* is the only right *expounder*, as well as the *author*, of holy scripture; and without whose *light*, *spirit*, or *grace*, they cannot be *profitably* read, by those that read them.

Pervert. 7. 'They deny them to be any *means* whereby to resist *temptation*.'

Principle. This is a very uncharitable aspersion. True it is, that they deny the scriptures *merely*, or *of themselves*, to be *sufficient* to resist temptations; for then all that *have* them, and *read* them, would be sure to be *preserved* by them against temptations: but that they should deny them to be *any* means, or instrument, in God's hand, is either great ignorance, or injustice, in their adversaries. God *hath* made use of the scriptures, and daily *doth* and *will* make use of them, for *instruction*, *reproof*, *comfort*, and *edification*, through the *Spirit*, to those that read them as they *ought* to do. *Thus*, they say, *they* have felt them, and *so* they have been, and are, made unto them, through the good Spirit of God, coming in upon their Spirits, in the reading and considering of them; and wish heartily they were more in request with the professors of Christianity.

^a John i. 4. ^o Deut. xxx. 14, Rom. x. 6, 7, 8.

S E C T. IV.

Of the *Holy Spirit* of God, and its office with respect to man; and of *Ministry*, &c.

Pervers. 8. 'The *Quakers* assert the Spirit of God to be the *immediate teacher*, and that there is no *other* means now to be used, as *ministry, ordinances,*' &c.

Principle. They never spoke such language, and their *daily practice* confutes the reflection. But herein we perceive the great subtlety of Satan, as well as in other things, to *darken* the appearance of the truth, and *prepossess* peoples minds against it. For since he cannot hinder the exaltation of the *Spirit*-above all *visible* instruments, nor the necessity of its manifestations, convictions, motions, and operations, to be known in the hearts of men, and the great suitability thereof to the gospel-administration, he would spoil all by *over-doing* the matter, and carrying our assertions beyond *bounds*: for they *never* denied the use of *means*; but, to this day, from the beginning, they have been in the practice of them. But then they are *such* means as are used in the *life* and *power* of God, and not in and from *man's* mere *wit, will,* or *caranal innovation* or *imitation*; the *only* thing they strike at. For instance; they cannot own *that* to be a *gospel-ministry*, that is without a *gospel-spirit*; or that such can be *sent* of God, that are not *taught* of God; or that they are fit to teach *others* what *regeneration* and the *way* to *heaven* are, that have never been *born* again themselves; or that such can ever bring souls to God, that are themselves *strangers* (like those in the *Acts* xix. 21.) to the baptism of *fire*, and the *Holy Ghost*; never having been circumcised with the circumcision of the *heart* in the *spirit*, Rom. ii. 29. Which is so absolutely necessary to make a *true Jew*, or a *real Christian*, and much more the requisite qualification of a *gospel-ministry*.

This

This *unexperienced* and *lifeless* ministry, is the *only* ministry, and such the *only ministers*, that the people called Quakers cannot *own* and *receive*, and therefore cannot *maintain*. For the *ministry* and the *ministers* that are according to *scripture*, they both own, respect, and delight in; and are ready to *assist* and *support*, in their service for God.^p

It is strange, because they deny all *false* means, or means not *sanctified*, or used in the openings and leadings of God's power and Spirit, that therefore they must deny *all* means, however rightly used or employed. This is an injustice to their *profession* and *practice*. Wherefore all are desired to take notice, that *evangelical means* and *order* they love, and desire to keep: for they diligently *assemble themselves together* to wait upon God, to enable them to *worship* him; where they both *pray* and *prophecy*, one by one, as prepared and moved in their hearts by his Spirit, and as any thing is *revealed* to them, according to *primitive practice*; otherwise they are *silent* before the Lord. Nor are they without *spiritual songs*, making *melody* in their hearts to God their Redeemer, by the same Holy Ghost, as often as they are comforted and moved by it, as it was the *primitive practice*.^q

S E C T. V.

Of the *Holy Three*, or *Scripture Trinity*.

Pervers. 'The *Quakers* deny the *Trinity*.'

Principle. Nothing less: they believe in the *Holy Three*, or *Trinity* of *Father*, *Word*, and *Spirit*, according to *Scripture*. And that these Three are truly and properly One: of one *nature*, as well as *will*.^r But they are very tender of quitting *scripture* terms and

^p John xiv. 16, 17, 26. ch. xvi. 13. Acts i. 8. Gal. i. 6, 15, 16. ^q See 1 Cor. xiv. 15, 29, 30, 31. John xvi. 7, 29, 22. Eph. v. 19. Col. iii. 16. ^r John i. 1. c. xiv. 9. Rom. ix. 5. 1 John v. 7. 1 Cor. i. 18, 31. ch. ii. 2.—6. Col. ii. 8.

phrases for *schoolmens*; such as, ‘*distinct and separate persons,*’ and ‘*subsistences,*’ &c. are; from whence people are apt to entertain gross ideas and notions of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost. And they judge, that a *curious* enquiry into those high and divine relations, and other speculative subjects, though never so great truths in themselves, tend little to godliness, and less to peace; which should be the chief aim of true Christians: and therefore they cannot gratify that curiosity in themselves, or others: *speculative* truths being, in their judgment, to be sparingly and tenderly declared, and never to be made the *measure and condition* of Christian communion. For besides that Christ Jesus hath taught them other things, the sad consequences, in all times, of *superfining* upon scripture-texts, do sufficiently caution and forbid them. Men are too apt to let their *heads* out-run their *hearts*, and their *notion* exceed their *obedience*, and their *passion* support their *conceits*; instead of a *daily cross*, a *constant watch*, and an *holy practice*. The despised Quakers desire *this* may be *their care*, and the *text* their creed in *this*, as in all other points: preferring *self-denial* to *opinion*, and *charity* to *knowledge*, according to that great Christian doctrine, 1 Cor. xiii.

S E C T. VI.

Of the Divinity of Christ.

Pervers. 10. ‘The Quakers deny Christ to be God.’

Principle. A most untrue and unreasonable censure: for their great and characteristical principle being this, ‘That Christ, as the *Divine Word*, lighteth the souls of all men that come into the world, with a *spiritual* and *saving light*, according to John i. 9. ch. viii. 12.’ (which nothing but the *Creator* of souls can do) it does sufficiently shew they believe him to be God; for they truly, and expressly, own him to be so, according to scripture; viz. “In hima was life, and that
“ life

“ life the light of men; and he is God over all,
“ blessed for ever.”

S E C T. VII.

Of the *manhood* of *Christ*.

Pervers. 11. ‘ The *Quakers* deny the *human nature*
‘ of *Christ*.’

Principle. We never taught, said, or held, so gross a thing, if by *human nature* be understood the *manhood* of *Christ Jesus*. For as we believe him to be *God* over all, blessed for ever; so we do as truly believe him to be of the *seed* of *Abraham* and *David* after the *flesh*; and therefore truly and properly *man*, “ like us “ in *all* things (and once *subject* to all things, for *our* “ sakes) *sin* only excepted.”

S E C T. VIII.

Of *Christ Jesus*, his *death*, and *sufferings*.

Pervers. 12. ‘ The *Quakers* expect to be *justified* and
‘ *saved* by the *light* within them, and not by the *death*
‘ and *sufferings* of *Christ*.’

Principle. This is both unfairly and untruly stated and charged upon us. But the various sense of the word *justification*, obliges me here to distinguish the use of it: for in the natural and proper sense, it plainly implies, *making* men *just*, that were *unjust*; *godly*, that were *ungodly*; *upright*, that were *depraved*; as the apostle expresseth himself, 1 Cor. vi. 11. “ And “ such were some of you; but ye are washed, but ye “ are sanctified, but ye are justified, in the name of “ our Lord *Jesus*, and by the Spirit of our God.” In the other use of the word, which some call a *law*-sense, it refers to *Christ*, as a *sacrifice* and *propitiation* for *sin*,

* John i. 1. Rom. ix. 5. * Isa. vii. 14. Mat. i. 23. Luke i. 31.

as in Rom. v. 9. "Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him:" and 1 John ii. "If any man sin, we have an advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous; and He is the propitiation for our sins; and not for ours only, but also for the sins of the whole world." Which though a truth, and most firmly believed by us; yet no man can be entitled to the benefit thereof, but as they come to believe, and repent of the evil of their ways; and then it may be truly said, 'That God justifieth even the ungodly, and looks upon them through Christ, as if they had never sinned; because their sins are forgiven them for his beloved Son's sake.'

Not that God looks on people *to be* in Christ, that *are not* in Christ; that is, that are not in the *faith, obedience, and self-denial* of Christ; nor *sanctified*, nor *led* by his *Spirit*, but *rebel* against it; and, instead of *dying* to sin, through a true and unfeigned *repentance*, *live* and *indulge* themselves daily in it; "for they that are in Christ, become new creatures; old things are passed away, and all things, (with them) become new." Wherefore we say, that whatever Christ *then* did, both *living* and *dying*, was of great benefit to the salvation of all that *have* believed, and *now* do, and that hereafter *shall* believe in him unto *justification and acceptance* with God: but the way to come to that *faith*, is to receive and obey the manifestation of his divine *light* and *grace* in their consciences; which leads men to believe and value, and not to disown or undervalue, Christ as the *Common Sacrifice* and *Mediator*. For we do affirm, that to follow this holy *light* in the *conscience*, and to turn our minds, and bring all our deeds and thoughts to it, is the *readiest*, nay, the only *right* way to have *true, living, and sanctified* faith in Christ, as he appeared in the flesh, and to *discern* the *Lord's body, coming, and sufferings* aright,* and to receive any *real* benefit by him, as their *only Sacrifice* and

* John iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 6, 7.

Mediator: according to the beloved disciple's emphatical passages, "If we walk in the light, as God " is in the light, we have fellowship one with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son cleanse us from all sin."² And because this people say, that Christ's *outward coming* and *sufferings* profit not to *their* salvation that live in *sin*, and *rebel* against this divine light; some have untruly and uncharitably concluded, that they deny the virtue and benefit of Christ's coming and sufferings in the flesh, as a *sacrifice* for *sin*. Whereas we only deny and oppose a false and dangerous *application* of them in and to a *disobedient* state. For we believe Christ came not to save men *in* their sins, but *from* their sins; and that those that open the door of their hearts at his *inward* and *spiritual knocks*,⁷ (to wit, the *reproofs* and *convictions* of his light and grace) have their "consciences sprinkled " with his blood (that is, discharged from the *guilt* " of them) from dead works, to serve the living " God:" and that so far only as men come, by faith, repentance, and amendment, to be *Christ's*, Christ is *theirs*; and as he has an interest in their *hearts*, they have an interest in his *love* and *salvation*. That is, so far as they are obedient to his grace, and take up his cross, and follow him in the ways of *meekness*, *holiness*, and *self-denial*, so far they have an *interest* in Christ, and no farther. And here, "there is no condemnation, *indeed*, to them that are in Christ Jesus," because, such "walk not after the flesh, but after the " Spirit:" for we have seen a *foal* or *sand* here, that we fear many thousands have split upon, which we desire to avoid, and are earnest that others may beware of it also; viz. "That because Christ died a *sacrifice* " for the *sins* of the *whole world*, by which he put " mankind into a capacity of salvation, and has given " every one a *talent* of *grace* to work it out by; they " presume upon the *sacrifice*, and *sin on*, without a thorough repentance, reformation, and conversion to

² 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. ⁷ Rev. iii. 20.

‘ God; *not dying*, with Christ, *to the world*, but *living* ‘ in it, according to the lusts and spirit of it.’ Such as these may be assured, that “ where Christ is gone, “ they shall never come:” For, says the blessed apostle, “ God sent his Son to bless us, by turning every “ one of us from the evil of our way.” So that the contrite, humble, meek, and self denying people, are those that have the true and full benefit of Christ’s coming, suffering, and mediation, and of all those holy ends for which God his Father *anointed* and *gave* him to the world, viz. to be the Way, Truth, and Life; Light, Leader, and Saviour; to be a King, Priest, Prophet, Sacrifice, Sanctifier, and Mediator; being sensibly felt of all such to *reign* over their *hearts*; *teach* them God’s royal *law*; *give* them saving knowledge; and to *mediate*, *atone* for, *sanctify*, and *justify* them in the sight of God his Father, for ever.

By all which it is evident, to any moderate enquirer, that we acknowledge Christ in his double appearance; as, in the flesh, “ of the seed of Abraham,” so in the Spirit, as he is “ God over all, “ blessed for ever.” Wherein is a full confession both to him as a *Blessed Person*, and as a *Divine Principle* of light and life in the soul; the want of which necessary and evident distinction, occasions our adversaries frequent mistakes about our belief and application of the scriptures of truth concerning Christ, in that twofold capacity.

For it is not another than that eternal *Word*, *Light*, *Power*, *Wisdom*, and *Righteousness*, which then took *flesh*, and appeared in that holy *body*, by whom they have received, or can receive, any true spiritual benefit. They holding, *light* is ONLY from Him, *forgiveness* ONLY through Him, and, *sanctification* ONLY by Him. So that their ascribing salvation from sin, and death eternal, to him in *this* age, who now appears by his holy Spirit to their souls, as before expressed, cannot render him *no* Saviour in *that* age, or make void the end and benefit of his blessed appearance then in the flesh on earth, or his mediation now in
B 2
glory,

glory, for those that believe in him in *this* age: whose doctrine *pierced*, whose life *preached*, whose miracles *astonished*, whose blood *atoned*, and whose death, resurrection, and ascension, *confirmed* that blessed manifestation to be no less than that of the “*Word God*” “(the life and light of men) manifested in the flesh,²” according to the apostle Paul, for the salvation of the world: and therefore, *properly* and *truly*, was the Son of Man on earth, and is now as truly the Son of Man in glory, as the *Head* of our manhood, which shall also be *glorified*, if we now receive him into our *hearts*, as the *true light*, that leads in the way of life eternal, and continue in well-doing to the end.

S E C T. IX.

Of Good Works.

Perverf. 13. ‘ Thus it is the *Quakers* set up *works*, and *meriting* by *works*, like the *Papists*; whereby justification by *faith* in *Christ* is laid aside.’

Principle. By no means: but they say, with the apostle James, chap. ii. “ That *true* faith in *Christ* “ cannot be without *works*, any more than a *body* “ can live without a *spirit* ;” and that where there is life, there is motion; and where there is no divine life and motion, there can be no true faith; *believing* being a fruit of divine *life*. Nay, by the comparison, if they were separable, *works* being compared to the *Spirit*, they would have the better. The very *believing* is an *act* of the *mind*, concurring with *God’s* working in or upon the mind, and therefore a *godly* work. And no sooner is true faith begotten in a soul, but it falls to *working*; which is both the nature, and, in some respect, the end of it.

Nor yet do we say, that our very *best* works, proceeding from the true faith itself, can *merit*; no, nor faith joined with them: because “ eternal life is the

² John i. 4, 9. 1 Tim. iii. 16.

“ gift of God.” All that man is capable of believing, or performing, can never properly be said to *merit* everlasting blessedness; because there can be no *proportion* (as there *must* be, in case of *merit*) between the best *works* that can be performed in the life of man, and an *eternal felicity*. Wherefore all that man can do, ‘ even with the assistance of the Holy Spirit,’ can never be said strictly to *merit*, as a debt *due* to the creature: but, on the other hand, that *right faith*, and *good works*, (which arise out of it, or will follow it) may, and do, *obtain* the blessed immortality, [which it pleaseth Almighty God to give, and privilege the sons of men with, who perform that necessary condition] is a gospel and necessary truth. And this the Quakers ground upon, and therefore boldly affirm to the world.

So that they deny *all merit* from the *best* of works; especially by *such* as some *Papists* may conceive to be *meritorious*. But as they, on the one hand, deny the meritoriousness of works; so, on the other hand, neither can they join with that *lazy faith* which works not out the salvation of the soul with fear and trembling: ^a pray let not good *works* make men *Papists*, because they make men *Christians*. I am sure *believing* and *not working*, and imagining a salvation from *wrath*, where there is no salvation or cleansing from *sin*, which is the cause of it, is no whit less unscriptural, and abundantly more pernicious to the soul. “ Blessed is he that hears Christ’s words, and does “ them.” ^b” The doer is only accepted. Wherefore it shall be said at the last day, not, “ Well *professed*,” but, “ Well *done*, good and faithful servant, enter “ thou into the joy of thy Lord.” ‘ Thou holy, ‘ humble, patient, and meek liver: thou that lovedst ‘ me above all, and thy neighbour as thyself: enter ‘ thou. For, for thee, and such as thou art, was it ‘ prepared from the foundation of the world.’ Which recompence of his faithfulness, is the infinite love of

^a Phil. ii. 12.

^b Mat. vii. Psalm xvii.

God revealed and given to man, through Christ. For though "death be the wages of sin,"^c yet "the gift of God is eternal life to such." So that as the people called Quakers do not hold that their good works *merit*, neither believe they that their good works *justify* them: for though none are *justified* that are not in measure *sanctified*, yet all that man does is *duty*, and therefore cannot blot out old scores: for that is mere *grace* and *favour*, upon repentance, through Christ, the *Sacrifice* and *Mediator*; our great *Scape-Goat*.^d So that men are not justified, *because* they are sanctified, but for *his sake* that sanctifies them, and works all their good works in them and for them, and presents them blameless; to wit, Christ Jesus, who is made unto them, as he was to the saints of old, "wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption; that he that glorieth, might glory in the Lord."^e

S E C T. X.

Of *Water-Baptism*, and the *Supper*.

Pervers, 14. 'The *Quakers* deny the two great sacraments or ordinances of the gospel, *baptism*, and the *supper*.'

Princip. Whatever is truly and properly a gospel-ordinance, they desire to own and practise: but they observe no such language in the scripture as in the reflection. They do confess the *practice* of *John's baptism*, and the *supper*, is to be found there; but practice *only* is no *institution*, or sufficient reason of continuation. That they were *then* proper, they believe; it being a time of great infancy, and when the mysteries of truth lay yet couched and folded up in *figures* and *shadows*, as is acknowledged by Protestants: but it is their belief, that *no figures* or *signs* are *perpetual*, or of *institution*, under the gospel-administration, when CHRIST, who is

^c Rom. vi, 23.

^d Isa, xxvi. 12.

^e 1 Cor. i. 30, 31.

the *substance* of them, is come: though their use might have been indulged to young converts in primitive times, because of the condescension of former practices.

It were to overthrow the whole gospel-dispensation, and to make the coming of Christ of none effect, to render *signs* and *figures* of the nature of the gospel, which is *inward*, *spiritual*, and *eternal*. If it be said, 'But they were used after the coming of Christ, and his ascension too:' They answer, So were many Jewish ceremonies, not easily abolished, as circumcision, &c. It is sufficient to them, That water-baptism was *John's* and not *Christ's*. See Mat. iii. 11. Acts i. 5. That Jesus never *used* it, John iv. 2. That it was *no part* of Paul's commission, which if it were evangelical, and of duration, it would certainly have been. 1 Cor. iv. 15, 16, 17. And that there is but *one baptism*, as well as *one faith*, and *one Lord*, Ephes. v. 4. And *that* baptism ought to be of the same nature with the kingdom of which it is an ordinance, and that is *spiritual*. The same holds also as to the *supper*, both alluding to *old Jewish practices*, and used as a signification of a near and accomplished work, viz. The *substance* they represented.

If any say, 'But Christ commanded that one of them should *continue* in remembrance of him;' which the apostle to the church of Corinth explains thus; "That thereby they do *shew forth* the Lord's death until he comes:" We allege, That he that said so, told his disciples also, "That he would come to them again: that some should not taste of death until they *saw* him coming in the kingdom: and that he that dwelleth with them, should be *in them*: and that he would drink no more of this fruit of the vine, until he should drink it *new* with them in the kingdom of God:" which is the *new wine*, that was to be put into the *new bottles*, and is the *wine* of the kingdom; as

^r Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 26. Mat. xvi. 28. John xiv. 17. Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25.

he expresseth it in the same place: which kingdom is *witbin*, as may be read in *Luke*. He was the *heavenly bread* that they had not yet known, nor his *flesh and blood*, as they *were* to know them; as may be seen, *John vi*. So that though Christ was come to *end* all *signs*, yet, until he was known to be the *substance* to the soul, as the great *bread of life* from heaven, *signs* had their service with them, to *shew forth*, and *hold in hand*, and in *remembrance* of Christ: ⁴ especially to the people of that day, whose religion was attended with a multitude of the like types, shadows, and signs of the one good thing and substance of all, Christ manifested in his people. And that great apostle Paul says expressly of the Jewish observations, "That they were *shadows* " of the good things to come, but the *substance* was " of *Christ*." Hence it is, that the people called Quakers cannot be said to *deny* them; that is too hard a word: but they truly feeling in themselves the *very thing*, which *outward* water, bread and wine do *signify*, or *point forth* (to say nothing here of their *abuse*, and what in that case may be argued, from the instance of Hezekiah's taking away the *brazen serpent* by God's command) they *leave them off*, as fulfilled in *Christ*, who is in them " the hope of their glory: ⁵" And henceforth they have but *one* Lord, *one* faith, *one* baptism, *one* bread, and but *one* cup of blessings, and that is the new wine of the kingdom of God, which is within.¹

S E C T. XI.

Of the *Resurrection*, and *Eternal Recompence*.

Pervers. 15. ' They acknowledge *no resurrection* of ' the *dead*, nor *rewards* to come.'

Princip. In this also we are greatly abused. We *deny not*, but *believe*, the *resurrection*, according to the

⁵ Luke v. 37,
¹ 2 Kings xviii. 4.
Luke xvii. 20, 27,

Luke xvii. 20.
⁴ Mark xiv. 25.

John vi. 53 to 63.
¹ Cor. x. 15, 16, 17.

scripture; not only from *sin*, but also from *death* and the *grave*; but are conscientiously cautious in expressing the *manner* of the resurrection intended in the charge, because it is left a *secret* by the Holy Ghost in the scripture. Should people be angry with them for not *expressing* or *asserting* what is *bidden*, and which is more curious than necessary to be known, and in which the objectors themselves cannot be positive? "Thou fool," is to the curious enquirer, as says the apostle:² which makes the Quakers contented with *that body*, which God shall please to give them hereafter: being assured, "that their corruptible shall put on incorruption, and their mortal shall put on immortality," but in such a manner as pleaseth God. And in the mean time they esteem it their duty, as well as wisdom, to acquiesce in his holy will. It is enough they believe a resurrection, and that with a *glorious* and *incorruptible body*, without farther niceties; for to that was the ancient hope.

Now as to *eternal rewards*, they not only *believe* them, but, as the apostle says of old, above *all* people have the greatest *reason* so to do;¹ for otherwise, who is so *miserable*? Do they inherit the reproach and suffering of all that have separated from time to time from national churches? That is to say, Are the outcries that have been against the Protestants by the Papists, and those of the church of England against the Puritans, Brownists, and Separatists, fallen so thick upon *them*, and shall *they* hold principles inconsistent with an eternal recompence of reward? By no means. It is their faith, their hope, their interest, and what they wait and have suffered for, and press, as an encouragement to faithfulness, upon one another. And the contrary, therefore, must be both an *unjust* and an *improbable* suggestion of their adversaries.

S E C T. XII.

Of *Civil Honour* and *Respect*.

Perverf. 16. 'The *Quakers* deny all *civil honour* and *respect*, but what is *relative* or *equal* between men.'

² 1 Cor. xv. 36 to 54.

¹ 1 Cor. xv. 19.

Principle. We "honour all men in the Lord," but not in the spirit and fashion of *this* world that passes away.^m And though we do not pull off our hats, or make curtsyeings, or give flattering titles, or use compliments, because we believe there is no *true* honour, but flattery and sin in the using of them; yet we treat all men with seriousness and gentleness, though it be with plainness, and our superiors with a modest and awful distance; and are ready to do them any reasonable benefit or service, in which we think *real* honour consisteth. Whereas those that thus reproach us, are often proud, peevish, snappish, abusive and oppressive one to another; though at the same time they can give one another the *cap* and *knee*, with smooth words, which (too generally) they never mean: which is far from *true* civility, or "honouring all men," in the sense that they are exhorted to by the apostle.

And as for expressing our respect to our superiors in all countries, we think it best done by obeying all just laws under their government, according to the saying of the centurion unto Christ, and which Christ so much approved of, viz. When he said to one, "Come, and he came; to another, Go, and he went; to a third, "Do this, and he did it."ⁿ Reasonable *commands*, and ready *obedience*. *This* is honouring of government and governors, and not empty titles, and servile and fantastic gestures, and drinking of their healths, until they drink away their *own*: the vain and evil customs of the world, taken from the heathen's practices, and adopted by loose Christians in their conversation, and so become the fashion of the times. And if to dissent from these things, be to be *vile*, we are contented to be accounted *more* vile, having Christ's commands, primitive example, and our own convictions, on our side^o.

^m 1 Pet. ii. 17. iii. 9. Rom. xii. 2. Job xxxii. 21, 22.
ⁿ 1 Pet. i. 14. ^a Luke vii, 8, 9. ^o 2 Sam. vi. 22.

S E C T. XIII.

Of *Civil Government.*

Pervers. 17. ‘The *Quakers* are *enemies* to all *government*. First, In that every one acteth according to his own conceit. Secondly, Because they will not support civil government. Thirdly, Because they refuse to give evidence upon *oath*, as the law requires.’

Principle. That this is a calumny, their lives and conversations sufficiently shew; for no people give the magistrates *less* trouble, or cause that charge or burden to sit lighter upon their shoulders, than these people do. And for their principle, ‘They believe magistracy to be an ordinance of God, and that he that ruleth well, is worthy of double honour, and deserves to be much valued and esteemed:’ as such certainly do, “Who are a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well.” And farther, to shew that they are people that love *order* and *good government*, they carefully practise it among themselves: for if there be twenty meetings of *worship* in a county, they, peradventure, make three or four *monthly meetings* of *business*: and these *monthly meetings* are resolved into a *quarterly meeting* for the county, by such members as they severally appoint to constitute it. And all the *quarterly meetings* in the *nation*, by chosen men out of themselves, do constitute *one general yearly meeting*; unto which, the meetings of those people, in all parts of the world, have their recourse, by *chosen messengers*, or by *epistles*. The business of which meetings, in their several degrees, is to promote *virtue* and *charity*, *peace* and *unity*.⁹

‘The *Quakers* will not support *civil government*, and so are *useless*, if not *dangerous*, to *government*.’

This also is untrue, upon experience: for what people is more *industrious* under government, or pay their taxes *better* to it than *they* do? And, *tribute* from the

⁷ Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3.

⁹ Acts vi.

people, and justice from the rulers, are the support of government in all countries. It is true, indeed, that they cannot kill, or slay their own kind, and so are not fit for warriors with carnal weapons of destruction; because they believe their blessed Lord forbade the use of them to his followers, when he said, "They that take the sword, shall perish with the sword;" and that the use of the sword in war, was one of those things that God suffered for the "hardness of mens hearts, and that from the beginning it was not so:" in fine, that it came in with the fall, and must go out with it also. And as Christ, the "repairer of breaches, and restorer of paths to dwell in," comes to be known to rule in the heart, love will take place of wrath, and forgiveness overcome injury and revenge: so the lamb will be preferred before the lion, and the lion resign to, and lie down with, the lamb, and destruction come to a perpetual end. For which cause, the "weapons of this people's warfare, are not carnal, but mighty, through God, to the pulling down of the strong holds of sin and satan;" according to the apostle's doctrine: which is the holy war, indeed; stiled by the Holy Ghost, *The saints warfare*. And since so holy, lamb-like, and peaceable a state, is both prophesied of, and promised, as the "happiness of the latter times;" and that it and they take their beginning in Christ, the "Beginning and the end of all true Christians;" let not this people be thought usefess, or inconsistent with government, for introducing that harmless glorious way to this distracted world (for somebody must begin it); but rather adore the providence, embrace the principle, and cherish and follow the example: believing, with them, that Christ, the blessed shepherd of his flock, will ever preserve the faithful followers of his meekness, and disciples of his peaceable and forgiving doctrine.

' The Quakers refuse to give evidence,' &c.

' Mat. v. 38—45. ch. xxvi. 51, 52. ' Isa. xi. 6. 2 Cor. x. 3, 5.

It

It cannot be their *fault*, which is so much their *desire*, viz. 'To be able to give evidence upon *all* occasions.' Nor, with justice, can it be reputed their stubbornness, but their tenderness, since they cannot *swear at all*, and that the law requires an *oath* in evidence. Now Christ having commanded his followers, "Not to *swear at all*," and that, instead of an oath, or in cases where oaths are allowed under the law, their *yea, yea*, and *nay, nay*, should serve instead of swearing; and that for this reason, because, "What is *more than yea, yea, nay, nay*, cometh of evil;" and for that Christians are commanded to avoid the very *appearance* of evil, much more that which *cometh* of evil: upon this account they dare not swear at all. So that it is for *Christ's sake*, and the tender respect they bear to his evangelical, positive and general precept, that they cannot swear; who is the *truth*, and has taught them to *speak* the truth without an *oath*.

Now if this would be admitted (and often they have prayed that it might be, and, for want of it, are not only less serviceable to their neighbours, than otherwise they could be, but are great *sufferers* in their persons and estates) and that the government would be pleased to accept their *yea, yea*, and *nay, nay*, instead of an oath, as other countries do in the like cases, they would be ready to submit to the *same punishment* in case of *untruth*, that is due by law to *perjury*: and upon all occasions would be glad to help and serve their neighbours with all their hearts. Wherefore let not that be made their *fault*, that is so much against their *will*, and their great unhappiness and affliction.

Thus, sober reader, thou hast a brief account of this people, their principles and practice; and therefore thou mayest see, if thou pleasest, with how little reason they are *despised* by some, and *abused* by others; which hath been their lot, in a large measure, ever since they have been a people: though the whole bent of their spirits and testimony, since God, by his grace,

† Mat. v. 35, 37. Jam. v. 12.

hath distinguished them, has been, ‘ To promote the
 ‘ experimental and saving knowledge of Jesus Christ in
 ‘ the world, by turning the minds of all people from
 the *darkness* that is in them, to the *light of Christ*
 ‘ which is in them, as the *great, singular, and necessary*
 ‘ *agent and principle*, by which, *only*, man is enlight-
 ‘ ened, and enabled to see and do the will of God.”
 For, until men receive, and are quickened by, this
 divine principle, they are hypocrites, and not Chris-
 tians; bastards, and not sons. Neither can they have
 true and living faith, whatsoever they profess; nor can
 they truly and acceptably worship God, whatsoever
 they perform.

○ then, let the poor Quakers, and their abused
 principles, have better entertainment with thee, read-
 er: and do not conclude, because they direct people
 to the light of *Christ* in them, that therefore it is a
 mere *natural*, and not a *divine* light: or because they
 assert *Christ* to be the *Word of God*, and that he is re-
 vealed in the *heart*, according to the scripture, and
 that the *scripture*, in that excellent sense, is *not* so;
 that therefore they deny the *divine authority* of the scrip-
 tures, and that the *mind and truth* thereof, as declared
 by them, is not, in *any* sense, the *Word of the Lord to*
men: or because they do not receive the *schoolmens Tri-*
nity, that therefore they deny the *Scripture-Trinity* of
 FATHER, WORD, and SPIRIT: or that therefore they
 deny the *divinity* of Christ the *Word*: or that they de-
 ny Christ *without* them, who was the *Son of Man*, in a
 suffering state on *earth*, and is now the *Son of Man* in
glory, because they *exalt and press* an *experimental* know-
 ledge of Christ *within*, as the truth, substance, and
 excellency of the “ hope of the glory ” that hereafter
 shall be revealed, as being the “ riches of the glory
 “ of the mystery revealed, and to be revealed, in
 “ these latter days, ” according to the scriptures of

▪ 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Acts xxvi. 18. 1 John i. 7. ch. ii. 20, 27.
 Rom. viii. 1, 12, John i. 4, 5. * Col. i, 26, 27, 28, 29.
 2 Cor. xiii. 5

truth.

truth. Neither do thou say, they hope to be saved by their *own works*, because they press the necessity of *well-doing* toward acceptance with God; since they maintain, 'that *no works* that are not wrought by the ' *Spirit of God* are *acceptable* with him: or that they ' hold even *such works* to be *meritorious*, because they ' say, *good works* are *necessary* and *rewardable*:' or that they are *forgiven* for what they *do*, and not for what *Christ* did: or that they deny the *use of means*, because they reject *ungospel* ones: or that they deny *baptism* and the *supper*, because they say, 'they are but *signs* of ' the *spiritual grace*, and that they served but for a *time*, ' and that they experience their accomplishment.' Neither say, that they are *uncivil*, and *honour* no man, because they forbear such *titles* and *ceremonies*, in which *true honour* and *civility* do not *consist*: or, that they are against *government*, because they cannot, out of tenderness and not obstinacy, conform to it in matters relating to *religion* and *conscience*; in which *CHRIST* only is *Lord* and *King*: since, reader, thou plainly seest, that they believe the *light* to be *divine*, and the *scriptures* to be of *divine authority*: that they own the *Scripture-Trinity*, or *Holy Three*, of *FATHER*, *WORD*, and *SPIRIT*, to be *truly*, and *properly*, *ONE*: that *CHRIST* is *God*, and that *CHRIST* is *man*: that he came in the *flesh*, *died*, *rose again*, *ascended*, and sits on *God's right-hand*, the *only Sacrifice* and *Mediator*, for man's happiness: that truly *gospel-means* and *ordinances* are requisite, and to be reverently practised: that *good works* are *necessary* and *rewardable*: that *all men* are to be *honoured* in the *Lord*, according to their *degrees*: and that *government*, in church and state, is *God's ordinance*, and both requisite and very beneficial.

Now, reader, that which remains, is to recommend thee to this *divine principle* of *light* and *life*, which they make the *root* and *spring* of all true *sense* of *God* and *religion* in man; even the *light within*, which they began with, and comes *from Christ*, and indeed *is Christ*, the *eternal Word*, and which brings all, that follow the convictions and leadings of it, *to Christ*; that

that is, to his *nature*, which is *meeke, patient, loving, humble, harmless, self-denying, and holy*; and thereby to know him "in themselves," according to scripture, to be the "hope of their eternal glory:" who, as he is of *Abraham* after the *flesh*, so is he *God, the True Light*, over all, blessed for ever; and *lighteth* all, in order to life and blessedness. Unto the manifestation of whose most holy and blessed light within, thou, reader, art earnestly exhorted. Bring thy *deeds* to it, and *love* it, and *walk* in it, and thou wilt assuredly have the *light of life*; and thy "fellowship shall be "with *God*, and with his *Son* and *saints*, and the blood "of *Jesus Christ* his Son shall cleanse thee from all "sin."² And "whatsoever things are true, whatsoever things are honest, whatsoever things are just, "whatsoever things are pure, whatsoever things are "of good report, if there be any virtue, and if there "be any praise, think on these things."³ Which, reader, is, I know, most earnestly desired on thy behalf, by this despised and most abused people, called Quakers. So be it. Amen.

P O S T S C R I P T.

Being an EXHORTATION to *all people*, to turn speedily to the LORD, and seek him while he may be found, whatever *persuasion* they are of, or *forms* they are under, before the dreadful day of God's *vengeance* overtake them.

O Ye inhabitants of the world, but more especially you that know this people, and among whom the testimony, which they bear, hath been held forth; hear, and be intreated, for your souls sake! O that ye knew *God*, your *Creator*, to be also your *Redeemer*! Who does as certainly *visit* you by the SPIRIT of the *Second Adam*, as ever he *created* you in the NATURE of

² John v. 6, 7. ³ Phil. iv. 8.

the *first Adam*: that as in one you *fell*, in the other you may *arise* out of your fallen and foul estate, and become a reformed, regenerate, and chosen people to God.^a

“ This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased; hear ye him;” said God the Father. And what says Christ the Son? “ Learn of me, for I am meek and lowly in heart, and ye shall find rest unto your souls.” For *out* of Christ, out of his *Spirit* and *nature*, verily we cannot have peace. “ No peace to the wicked,” no peace to the proud and ungodly, faith the Lord. O friends, you must take up your cross *daily*, and follow *him*, or ye cannot be his *disciples*; his followers, his people, his friends; those in whom he is well pleased. Whose *doctrine* is not so much the good *words* you read in *creeds* and *catechisms*, as it is the *living teaching* of his *Spirit* in your own *hearts*; and whose *religion* is not opinion, but *experience*; not notion, but *enjoyment*: *life* from death, *conversion*, *regeneration*: in short, *undefiledness* and *holiness*, “ without which no man shall see the Lord.”

Here is the *faith* of *Jesus*; a faith that *overcomes* the *world*, and *works* by *love*, not violence: where *zeal* and *charity* are companions, and *knowledge* doth not *puff up*, but lives and works by *obedience*. This is the faith and religion of *Jesus*: all others are the faith and religion of *hypocrites* and *devils*; which they may have, and be hypocrites and devils still: for though they *believe*, their faith works not by *love*; and though they *know* the truth, they *obey* it not.^b

Wherefore, friends, it stands you much upon to see *what* faith and religion you have; and not flatter yourselves on to perdition. If it be the *true*, the *pure*,

^a 1 Cor. xii. 7. Tit. ii. 11, 12. Rom. v. 10, 12, 18, 19, 22. Mat. iii. 17. chap. xvii. 5. Mat. xi. 29. Isa. lvii. 21. ^b Rom. viii. 1, 2, 5, 7, 8, 9, 13, 14. 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. v. 24. 1 John iii. 3, 8. chap. v. 4. Jam. i. 27. Rom. vi. 19, 20. 2 Cor. vi. 17, 18. chap. vii. 7. Eph. iv. 34. 1 Thes. iii. 13. Heb. xii. 14. 1 John v. 4. 2 Cor. x. v. James ii. 19, 20. Gal. vi. 7, 8. chap. v. 22. chap. ii. 8, 9.

the *undefiled*, according to the apostle, James i. 27. then you will have *light hearts*, and *easy consciences*, and "an *hope* that will not make you *ashamed*:" else, believe it, heaviness, anguish, and tribulation will (whatever be your profession) overwhelm you, in the day that God shall enter into judgment with you. For which cause, O my dear country-folks and people, be intreated, "while it is *to-day*," to turn unto the Lord with all your hearts, and "*hearken* to his *voice*," in your own consciences, that calls you to holiness, and harden not your hearts against his reproofs, for "the reproof of instruction is the way to life;" endless life. Did you but *see* that *God sees* you every where, and in every thing, and that *continually*, it would abundantly alter the case with you. Then would you say, as one of old, "The Lord was here, and I knew "it not." Certainly, fear, holy fear, would take hold of you, an awe of the Omnipresent Majesty would seize you, and you would not do that before God, which you would be ashamed men should see you do. For no place is secret to Him: "the *light* "and *darkness* are *alike*:" his witness is with you as much alone, as in company; and may perhaps be better heard by you.

Sin not, then, in the face of God, in contempt of his witness, in despite of his Spirit that is in you; but hear it, receive it, and love it, and you will be born of it, and become the children of him whose eye penetrates the darkest coverts, and findeth out the secretest corners. Even He that "searches the heart, "and tries the reins of man, and sets his sins in order "before him, and telleth unto him his most inward "thoughts."

This being the case, what manner of persons ought ye to be, O ye children of men! Do not satisfy your-

^c Psal. xciv. 7. Heb. iii. 7, 8, 13. 2 Cor. v. 10. Prov. i. 23. chap. vi. 23. Psal. xlv. 21. Psal. cxxxix. 7. Jer. xvii. 22, 23. chap. xxiii. 24. Amos ix. 2, 3. Rom. vi. 21. ^d Psal. xciv. 12. Psal. cxxxix. 3. Amos iv. 13. 2 Pet. iii. 11.

selves with *outsides*, with a *name*, a *profession*, a *church-membership*, &c. For it is not what you *say*, but what you *do*. But *turn in* and examine your own hearts, see how they stand affected towards God, and his law and truth in your inward parts. Be strict and true in the search, as you would save your souls. If your minds be set on heavenly things, and that holiness and charity be the zealous bent thereof, well will it be with you for ever: to *live*, then, will be *Christ*, and to *die* will be your eternal *gain*. "For blessed is that people and nation whose God is the Lord." But if the love and spirit of the *world* prevail: if *pride*, *covetousness*, and *luxury*, *envy*, *bitterness*, and *vain-glory*, that are so very opposite to the will and nature of God, and his holy Lamb; if these things have power over you, flatter not yourselves, you cannot be *true* Christians, nor in favour with God, for you take his name in vain: and your very *prayers* and *oblations* are an *abomination* to the Lord, in *that* state. God calls for the *heart*: "My Son give me thy heart:" he has given man the rest; but *that* God will have for himself, if man will have him for his God and friend. Cozen not yourselves, therefore, O ye sons and daughters of Adam! For, believe it, "Such as you sow, such you must reap;" and "there is no repentance in the grave." And a short, but great work will God do in the earth; and great judgments, of divers kinds, will begin it, and they are at the door.^f Yea, they are begun, if ye could but see them.

^e Isa. li. 6. Jer. xxxi. 33. Heb. viii. 10, 11, 12. Phil. i. 12. Psa. cxiv. 15. ^f Prov. xv. 8, 9. Isa. i. 15, 16, 17, 18. Prov. xxiii. 26. Gal. vi. 7, 8. Rom. xiii. 11. 1 Cor. xv. 34. Ephes. v. 14. 2 Tim. ii. 26. Joel ii. 3. Mal. iii. 2. chap. iv. 1. Mat. xxiv. 42, 43, 44, 46. chap. xxv. 13. chap. i. 21. 1 John iii. 5, 8. 1 Pet. ii. 9, 21. Mat. v. 8. Isa. liv. 12. chap. xxii. 12. Jer. xxxi. 9. Psa. xxxiv. 18. Psa. li. 10. Zech. xii. 11. Rev. i. 7. Mat. vii. 21. Rom. ii. 13. Mat. xiii. 46. Prov. viii. 18, 21. Isa. xlv. 3. Acts iii. 10. chap. i. 6, 7, 8. Psa. xlv. 6. Heb. i. 8. Isa. ix. 6, 7. Rev. xxii. 26.

O awake then, awake out of the sleep of this world! Behold the Judge is at hand, and the midnight cry is coming upon you as a thief in the night. Prepare, prepare, or you are excluded for ever! And remember, salvation is from *sin*, or it will never be from *wrath*: so said the angel, "Thou shalt call his name "Jesus, for he shall save his people from their *sins*:" for it is the "pure in heart that see God; and nothing "unlike him can please him, and less live with him for "ever."

The eternal God *reach* unto you by his powerful Spirit, *break* your peace in the broad way, *touch* you deeply with a sense of your disobedience to him, give you true contrition and repentance, and create in you a "*clean heart*," and renew a "*right spirit*" within you: to conclude, make you holy, make you zealous, and make you charitable; that you may *do*, as well as *say*, and not only *profess*, but *possess*, the truth of the living God in your *inward parts*; that pearl of price, that hidden and eternal treasure. So shall you know that the *times of refreshing* are come from the *presence* of the *Lord*, and that the *kingdom* is *again* restored unto *Israel*! ISRAEL, the Prince of eternal peace, who hath prevailed with God for man; whose scepter is "a scepter of righteousness, and of whose dominion "there shall be no end." So come, Lord Jesus; come quickly. Amen.

Written, in behalf of the said people, for the information and good of all, by

WILLIAM PENN.

A R E P L Y

A
R E P L Y
T O A
P R E T E N D E D A N S W E R,
B Y A
N A M E L E S S A U T H O R,
T O
W. P E N N ' S K E Y.

I N W H I C H

The P R I N C I P L E S of the People called
Q U A K E R S are farther Explained and
Confirmed.

B Y W. P E N N.

Published in the Year 1695.

THOUGH I submit to controversy as my drudgery,
not my pleasure, otherwise than as it is my duty;
yet, I cannot but say, I am glad that the publick con-
tradiction of a *nameless author*, to a small treatise of mine,
called, *A Key*, clearing our principles from vulgar ap-
prehensions, gives me farther occasion to declare and
justify them to the world: in the doing of which, I
shall endeavour, with God's assistance, so to govern my-
self,

self, that my antagonist shall see it has not been in his power, with all his scornful and abusive treatment of me, my friends, and our holy religion, to provoke me to any other towards him, in my *reply*, than what is suitable to Christianity; whilst with great levity and prejudice, he will by no means allow us to be *Christians*.

My reply will be short, but I hope clear and satisfactory; in order to which, I shall observe this method:

I. His mistakes in point of fact, and the use he would make of them.

II. His insinuations and insincerity.

III. His abusive terms and taunts upon us.

IV. His pretended answers and interpretations of scripture. And,

Our principles, so far as declared, and by scripture defended in the *KEY*, maintained against the attempts of this author, and farther explained and confirmed for a publick good.

I.

His *mistakes* in point of *fact*, and the *use* he would *make* of them.

He begins his answer with a passage merely personal, and not at all relative to the nature of the discourse, viz. about a pamphlet, writ in defence of the bill for excluding the duke of York, intituled, "A few words about the touchy point of succession:" teaching the parliament, That when they had made first an address to the duke to relinquish his right to the crown; if he refused, then (but not before) they might not only justly, but civilly exclude him by act.—'When,' (says he) 'I had perused this piece, without judging the merits of the cause, or the witness of the argument, I concluded that W. P. was then a man principled for the civil liberties of his country.'

Answer,

Answer. But if I may be so bold with this author, pray, why *then* principled for civil liberties, and not *afterwards*? And why this upon me at all? But why at this time, and upon this occasion, of so differing a nature, to be brought in by head and shoulders, as the proverb is? But what if I never writ such a pamphlet? (as to be sure I did not) What is to be said to, and of, such an author, in such a case, and in such a time, and to a man under *my circumstances*? Let him know then, that I did not only never write such a pamphlet, but I am sure that I do not remember I ever read one of such a title, or heard of it; nor was I of that principle, and therefore I return the civility of his conclusion to him again; for, I thank God, I was always so much for *civil liberties*, that I thought no man ought to lose them for his *religious principles*. And farther, that they were never to be secured by this or that *man*, but by a good and equal constitution of *government*; as some papers by me, which I writ at that time, as well as divers persons yet living, of good reputation, can evidence for me.

But his next paragraph explains the matter; wherein he speaks thus: ‘I could no otherwise reconcile the folly of his prevarication in the late reign, than by imputing them to his intemperate zeal for a boundless liberty of conscience, according to the doctrine of king James’s declaration.’

In this he would be charitable, but let him first be just: if there were no prevarication, then there is no need of an intemperate zeal for liberty to shadow or reconcile them to any former principles. And I am so much a friend to him and his brethren, that I wish them free from *all* intemperance, and prevarications too, and that in *all* reigns. And if it be possible, or worth while, to reconcile him better to my conduct, let him peruse my “*Great Case of Liberty of Conscience*,” printed 1671, and my “*Letter to the Estates of Embden*, 1672,” and my “*Present State of England*, 1675,” and he will find I was the same man then, and acted by the same principles. Not more intemperate in the reign that favoured

it, than in the reign I contended with, that did not favour it: and no man but a persecutor, which I count a beast of prey, and a declared enemy to mankind, can, without great injustice or ingratitude, reproach that part I had in king James's court: for I think I may say, without vanity, upon this provocation, I *endeavour'd* at least to do *some* good at *my own cost*, and would have been glad to have done *more*: I am very sure I intended, and I think I did, harm to *none*, neither parties nor private persons, *my own family* excepted: for which I doubt not this author's pardon, since he shews himself so little concerned for the master of it.

Page 8. Our adversary misses again notoriously in point of fact, when he charges me, 'Of revenging myself upon J. Faldo and T. Hicks, for baffling of me ' twenty years ago.'

Answer. I had no revenge in my eye when I writ that KEY; for it was writ in pity, not in anger; to inform, and not to be revenged. I must beg my *reader* to peruse it, who then can best judge if it tastes of that rank spirit, and what spirit this man is of, that shews such indignation at it; as well as see how meanly he has performed his pretence of an answer, that meddles not with a twentieth part of it, though on different subjects.

It is not in my nature to remember injuries twenty years ago, though this man commits them unprovoked; nor had I any temptation to it, since I had all the satisfaction I could desire, but their conversion. Concerning the first, I must refer myself to impartial readers; and of the last, the famous Barbican and Wheeler-street publick disputes do give this man the lie. For at the last, T. H. did not appear, and at the first he shrunk away. And if ever any such publick dispute determin'd with a visible advantage on either side, the impartial, not of our communion, gave it us. And for the encomium he bestows upon them, with the *poor Indian*, that desired not to go to heaven, if the *cruel Spaniard* went thither, I must say, Let not my soul

go where their souls are gone, if they did not heartily repent of their great wickedness, against the people of God called Quakers, and their holy profession, before they died.

Page 9. He saith, ‘ The *light within* is no scripture expression; and the nation had called nothing the ‘ *light within*, but the *effects* of the *perceptive powers* ‘ of our *minds*, that is, our *thoughts*.’

Answer. By nation, he must either understand a parliament or synod; for I presume he has not spoke with *all* the nation. But if the *Common-prayer*, established by act of parliament, have any share in the sense of the nation, or the *synod* or *assembly* of *divines*, that sat between the years of forty and fifty at Westminster, he will find *another* light owned by them, than *man’s own thoughts*: which being *all* the light within that is owned by this opposer, I may well return upon him that scripture, misquoted by him, pag. 43. “ If the light that is in thee be darkness, “ how great is that darkness!”—Take heed that the “ light in thee be not darkness.”

I shall consider his abuse of scripture in another place; and shall say no more upon it at this time, than that this *darkness* being our author’s *light*, he cannot *comprehend* the true light; but with it *opposes* the true light, and the children of it. But that the *light within* should not be a scripture expression, is very strange: pray, what is *enlightening*, but *light within*? Can a man’s mind be *lighted*, and have no *light* there? The *light* is said to shine in our *hearts*: can that be, and not *within*? But more of this when I come to consider his oppositions to the light.

Page 15, 18, 19. ‘ Notwithstanding their empty ‘ pretence, the *Quakers* learn their religion not from ‘ the *light within*, but from *one another*. They cannot ‘ name one that was a *Quaker*, that was not made so ‘ by *bearing* them, or reading their *books*. That *Quakerism* is erected by art, method, and management; ‘ by

‘ by confults and clubs; all subordinate to a general
 ‘ assembly; and not from the sufficiency of any *princi-*
 ‘ *ple* in *themselves*, either of natural or supernatural
 ‘ donation.’

Answer. This is also false in fact; there being many that came in a good measure *ripe* to the communion of that people, having for the most part the same sentiment; as all did from their own convictions by the *same principle*, though *mediately* or *ministerially*. But if this man had considered well, he would have spared this absurdity; for *whom* did the *first* Quaker bear? He will surely allow us a *beginning*. However, I would have him know, no man can see divine *truth* by another man’s speaking or writing, but through divine *light*, that shines in *himself*, giving him the *understanding* thereof: “ for though the spirit of man knows “ the things of a man; yet the things of God knows “ no man, but the Spirit of God:” and therefore it is upon conviction, and not human authority, that our religion is built. And it is great uncharitableness in this opponent, as well as injustice, to charge a whole people with a confederacy against themselves, to their temporal woe, and eternal destruction: that so much sobriety, patience, self-denial, suffering, constancy through all times and conditions, should be interpreted *trick*, *juggling*, *legerdemain*, on purpose to cozen the world, and their own souls; as this author is pleased to render them. But to inform him a little better, if yet he needs it; those clubs, as he is pleased to term them, that are subordinate to a general assembly, are not meetings to define and injoin *faith*, or uniformity of *worship*, wherein conscience is more immediately exercised; but meetings of *order* and *discipline*, to take care of the *poor*, of *fatherless* and *widows*, and all that walk up to the holy profession they make: which, I hope, is no argument against us, as if we embraced our religion by rote, and not by the illuminations and convictions of the light and Spirit of Christ Jesus,

Page 52. 'And *W. P.* thinks it consistent with the honour that is due to the scripture, to compare it with *Roman legends*.'

Answer. He would have done well to have cited the place where I had done so ill. I must leave it to my reader to do me justice against this gross writer, who says one of the worst things without the least proof. I am sure I could no more have been guilty of such an expression, than of renouncing my own belief: I pray God forgive him! But I would have him remember, that he is one day to be judged for this abuse.

I come to the second head of my reply; viz.

II.

His insinuations and insincerity.

Page 4. '*W. P.* asserting, in sundry pieces, liberty of conscience to be *ex jure naturali*, has destroyed all morality, confounded blessings and curses, good and evil, somewhat worse than *Hobbs* himself: for he only asserts a *natural liberty*, but this, a *divine privilege* to do *wickedness* in the name of the Lord.'

Answer. He has not quoted any one book, less the place, where he makes me capable of being guilty of so dangerous a principle; which, I hope, without being partial, I may say, is very disingenuous. If he can point me to any part of my writings, in defence of that noble principle of *liberty*, that has not in it a sufficient saving to *morality*, I will ask him and the world forgiveness; and if it has, I hope he knows whose part it is to cry *Peccavi*. But to insinuate I write for liberty of conscience, as a natural right, for those that should plead conscience to *overthrow* it, because I did maintain it in favour of those that kept within the bounds of *morality*, is to shew none towards me.

Page 6. He very weakly, as well as unworthily, insinuates a *near relation* betwixt *me* and the *Jesuits*. First, some one of the society may have had, at one time or other, a *title-page* with the words, *misrepresented* and *represented*, in it, which makes up a part of *mine*, with which he is so angry; as if *title-pages* were *confessions* of *faith*, or that the *same words* might not be used by men of *different persuasions*. It is to say, ‘Because *misrepresented* may be *misapplied*, therefore it ‘is not to be *used*.’ Any man may be *misrepresented*; must not he therefore represent himself *aright*, for fear of being a *Jesuit*? This, to be sure, gives a very ill representation of *him*.

In the next place he says, ‘*W. P.* imping the *Jesuit* again, he represents his *own* religion as like *ours* as ‘may be, by the new softening method of *Meaux*.’

Truly, I do not know what religion *he* is of; for he has no more told us *that*, than his *name*; but a *Protestant*, I suppose, *at large*: and yet I am ready to think I can subscribe as many of the doctrines of the *Reformation* as himself. But if our religion be *so like* it, why does he labour in his whole treatise to render ours so grossly *contrary* to theirs? Contrary things do not look *alike*, for then they cannot properly be said to be *contrary*. And if we are of so softening a disposition, does he well to be so very *hard*? But truly I think it no fault to have a religion unlike *his*, unless it had more of *sobriety* and *charity* in it. However, the *Jesuits* are much beholden to him, whatever *I* am; it being the first time I have heard their methods esteemed so *soft*: nor had they now had, I believe, that compliment from him, but to render *us* jesuitical, or popish at least.

Page 7. He adds, ‘For *W. P.*’s scheme is, first to ‘give the *perversion* of Quakerism, and then to represent it in *equivocal terms*, after his *own way*.’

By which he would have the reader think we are *insincere*, as well as mistaken; and that we have a design

sign upon *ourselves*, to cozen *ourselves*, as well as the *world*, in the great business of *salvation*. But what must that man be that can have such a design? Certainly, a *fool to himself*, and a *devil to others*: but then what must *they* be, who render men so absurd and impious, only to have their evil ends upon their *character* and *religion*? Doubtless they must be as *bad* every jot. I must needs tell him, that little treatise was not intended for criticks, but plain and ordinary understandings; to remove common and vulgar prejudices, and in a familiar style; and not after the bishop of *Meaux's* copy, which was performed with much address and exactness.

He says, 'My terms are *equivocal*.' I am sure I have mostly expressed myself in those of the holy scripture: it is a singular and unjust reflection, to say I did it in my *own way*; for it is in that way which is common to the writers of our persuasion, and according to the language of the Holy Ghost. And it is plain, from more places than this of his book, as p. 23, 41, &c. that he would have that little piece of mine the fruit of great contrivance and design: I know not why, unless that he might raise the greater reputation to his *own* undertaking; as he tells us, p. 5. But that will depend upon the conclusion, which will best shew how well he has acquitted himself.

Page 11, 12. He farther insinuates, 'That we make the *light within* the rule, not only to direct our *belief* and *practice* of the *Christian religion*, but to discover to men the *history* of the *coming* and *performances* of *Jesus of Nazareth*, and that he is *Christ the Lord*; and this without the *help* of the *scriptures*.'

Answer. Now this is very insincere on his part: for though the light of the *eternal Word* be, without doubt, *sufficient* to reveal or discover those facts where they are *not known*, if God pleaseth; yet we never said the light was our rule to *that* purpose, but to *judge* of that which is revealed; or that the discoveries it made were of things *past* and *historical*, but of things
immediate

immediate and practical, as of sin, in thought, word, and deed, and to be daily assisted to live soberly, righteously, and godly in this world; to pray, and preach, and worship God; which relating to the service of Jesus, and the service of Jesus being by him allowed to be the Christian religion, the asserting of that divine light to be the holy rule of our Christian conduct to perform those things, deserves not such abusive insinuations and innuendos as this author makes upon us.

Page 14. He would have his reader believe, as if there were not *one passage* in all *my part* of that book called, "*The Christian Quaker,*" he can *cite* before it be *corrected*, both *style and matter*, because he only cites *one* which *he thinks fit* to correct; calling me for it a *lewd author*, and what else he pleases: but, according to his *usual practice*, he has inserted no PAGE to direct us where to *find* this assertion. If *to me* he has thought it not *needful*, I must tell him, his *amendment* is as *needless*; for when I speak of *Christ*, I say *HE*; and when of his *body*, I say *it*: notwithstanding, he charges me with other things: but, I think, through the many books I have written, it will never be found *my practice* or *mistake*, whatever may be the *printer's*.

Pag. 23. 'Since the *Quakers* will have their *light* to be common to *all men*, and not *natural*, there is no *such thing* in the *universe*.'

Answer. By which he insinuates, that a *divine light* cannot be communicated to *every man*, and be *divine*. Would he have shewn himself a candid author, one that desired to have informed, and not abused us, he would have first instructed himself what we have said on this occasion. By *natural*, we mean *mere MAN*; his *compositum*, or *make*; that is, of the *nature* of man, as he is *man*: by *divine*, what is *above* man, and from God, to direct man in all well-pleasings to him. Yet if by *natural* may be meant, that every man that is *born* into the world has a *portion* of this *light*, or *illuminating principle*, to direct him in the way
to

to blessedness, I should not very much quarrel at the word; it being, in a sort, *natural* to all men to *have it*; because all men that are *born* (from whence the word *nature* springs) as certainly *have it*, as that they are *born* into the world. See John i. 4, 19. 1 Cor. xii.

These few instances I thought fit to give of the unjust insinuations and insincerity of this author; which brings me to my third head, viz.

III.

His *abusive terms* and *taunts* upon us.

Indeed almost every page is freighted with them. My *Key* is a *picklock*, and we are *imps* of the *Jesuits*: our writings are *apocryphal*, our phrases like *gypsy-gibberish* and *beggars cant*; our arguments *putid sophisms*; our leading men a pack of *jugglers*, *sophistical*, of *suborned* sense; men of *tricks* and *legerdemain*, abusing honest-meaning men, as *jugglers* do plain country people; *ranting cant*, and that I *debauch* the *scriptures*; with much more of this strain and stile; besides that scorn and levity, which very much unbecomes one that pretends to correct others in matters of religion. I would fain have this author to consider whether he has acted like one that has any reverence towards God, or compassion to a mistaken people, supposing us to be such. Certainly, whether *we* are in the right or no, *he* must needs be in the wrong, and his religion *vain*, that has no better bridle to his tongue or pen: which said, I shall betake myself to my fourth head.

IV.

His pretended *answers* and *interpretations* of *scripture* considered.

The first perversion, mentioned in my *Key*, is pag. 1. viz. 'The *Quakers* hold, That the *natural light* in the ' *conscience of every man* in the *world* is sufficient to *save*
' all

‘ all that *follow* it:’ which, by the way after the flourish of an *answer* to the *Key*, (at least as to our doctrine of the *light*) is all that is *cited* by him; so that my explanations of our principle, in answer to this, and three other perversions upon this doctrine at the same time, are not so much as taken *notice* of by this man; that pretends to have considered them *all*. But let us hear what he says upon this perversion.

Pag. 7. ‘ This is no *perversion*; unless no *objection* made against a tenet be a *perversion* of a tenet; which no body thinks besides *W. P.* For we only say, That the Quakers believe that a *natural* light is *supernatural* and *saving*: we *mistake* not their *meaning*, but oppose it as an *error*.’

Answer. He that changes the *terms* of a *Question*, abuses his *antagonist*, and perverts the *argument*; which is the case: for the people called Quakers never said, that a *natural* light was *supernatural*, or sufficient to *salvation*: and if *natural* be not their *term*, then it is a *perversion* of their *principle*. For whether they are *mistaken* in their principle, or no, is not the question; but whether their principle is not *misgiven* by their enemies. This author seems to make it *natural* in another place, because we affirm it is *common* to all, or that all are *enlightened*: but this begs the question in point of *argument*, and will not rectify or defend a matter that is in fact false: for besides that it is not fair in any to charge their consequences upon others for principles, it is plain what any people *say* is their principle, is the rule for *us* to know whether what their adversaries *say* is so, *be* their principle or not. Suppose it were true, that what is common is natural; yet if we do not *say* so, it is a *perversion* of what we say; and as such I give it in my *Key*. For, as I said before, what any people declare *is* their principle, is the rule for others to know whether what their adversaries *give* for their principle *be theirs* or not: now whether the *light* we call *divine* be *natural* or no, shall be considered in its place: but that a *natural* light should be *super-natural* and *saving*,

is not our *principle*, but their *perversion* and *contradiction*. Waving, then, any more of my *Key*, which he pretends to answer, he undertakes to state our religion, and the controversy between us, in his *own* terms and not *ours*; which I will not say is a *lewd*, but a *foul* way of treating any people or opponent, in my judgment; and I think I am not mistaken.—His words are these:

Pag. 8. ‘ If any thing they say deserves *consideration*, ‘ this is the point; and of this they say, 1. That the ‘ *light within* is the *rule* of the *Christian religion*. ‘ 2. That it is *God* and *Christ*. 3. That *Quakerism* is ‘ taught them *by it*.’

Answer. I could be glad this author said any thing that deserved the consideration of good and wise men: I am sure he deserves their reproof, that will not let us confess our *faith* in our own *words*, nor express our *religion* in our own *way*. However, I will observe what he says, as disingenuous as it is; and not write forty pages upon four lines, as he has partially cited out of my *Key*, and then call it an *Answer*. It is not *our way* of speaking to say, ‘ The *light within* is the *rule* of the ‘ *Christian religion* ;’ but, ‘ That the light of *Christ* ‘ within us is the *rule* of true Christians ;’ so ‘ that it is, ‘ not *our* light, but *Christ’s* light that is our *rule*, ‘ For in him was life, and that life the light of men,’ John i. 4, 9. chap. viii. 12. *Life* in the *word*, *light* in *men*; and *life* (too) where it is *obeyed*. For Christ promises “ the light of *life* to all that follow *him*, the *true* “ light that enlightens every man that cometh into the “ world.” Christ *himself* hath made it the *rule* of his followers: “ But he that doth truth, cometh to the “ *light*, that his deeds may be made *manifest* that they “ are wrought in *God*.” So that Christians are to square their lives by the light of Jesus; therefore it is their *rule*. It is the Christian *path* to blessedness. Christ exhorts his followers to *walk* in the light. The beloved disciple begins his epistles, as he does his history of the gospel, with the *divinity* and *doctrine* of the *light*; telling us, “ That *God* is *light*; that if we would have

“ fellowship with *God*, we must walk in this *light*; and “ that the blood of *Jesus Christ* cleanseth those *only* “ that *walk* in this light; and that religion *without* it is “ a *lie*,” 1 John i. To which let me add, That in his book of Revelations, consonant thereunto, he saith, “ That the nations of them that are *saved* shall *walk* “ in the light (of the lamb).” Rev. xxi. 23, 24. The apostle Paul makes it universal and effectual, in his epistle to the Ephesians, chap. v. 13. “ But all things that “ are reprovèd (or *discovered*) are made manifest by the “ *light*; for whatsoever doth make *manifest* is *light*.” Now all being *reprovèd*, all have *light*; and since that light manifests every thing that is to be *known*, *Christ himself* was known *by it*, and the religion he taught discovered *by it* to be of *God*; and such *only* received him and it, as *obeyed* this light in their consciences. The same light is by the same apostle rendered the Christian’s *armour*; “ And let us *put on* the armour of “ *light*,” says he, “ let us walk honestly, as in the *day*; “ not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering “ and wantonness, not in strife and envying; but put “ ye on the *Lord Jesus Christ*, and make no provision “ for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof:” making it the same thing to put on the *armour of light*, and to put on the *Lord Jesus Christ*; certainly, then, *Christ* must be that *light*, and that *light must be Christ*. But he objects to this doctrine.

Page 11. ‘ The *Christian religion* is nothing but the ‘ *service of Jesus of Nazareth*.—Nothing, then, can be ‘ the *rule* of this religion, but what discovers to us that ‘ there is one: *Jesus of Nazareth*, and that he is *Christ* ‘ the *Lord*. But never was any one man instructed by ‘ that *light* that is in the *conscience* of every *man*, that ‘ there ever was such an one as *Jesus of Nazareth*, much ‘ less that he was the *Lord*, and least of all what he *re-* ‘ *quired* of his *servants*: therefore no *light within*, com- ‘ mon to *all mankind*, can be the *rule* of the *Christian* ‘ *religion*; since it was never possible for any man to
‘ learn

‘ learn the *least part* of the Christian religion by the
‘ *light* that is in every man’s *conscience*.’

To the first part of what he says, ‘ That the *Christian religion* is nothing but the *service* of *Jesus of Nazareth*,’ I shall easily agree: for the service of Jesus of Nazareth, is the service of the *God* and *Father* of Jesus of Nazareth; and that is, “ to *fear God*, and *keep his commandments*; and to *love God* above *all*, and our
“ *neighbours as ourselves*; this is the *whole duty* of man,” Eccl. xii. 13. Matt. xxii. 37, 39. that which man has to do in the world for salvation.

To the second part of his proposition, viz. ‘ That
‘ nothing can be the *rule* of this religion, but what
‘ discovers to us that there is one *Jesus of Nazareth*,
‘ and that he is *Christ the Lord*,’ I shall likewise agree, upon distinction. I distinguish, then, between an *historical* and *spiritual* discovery of Jesus of Nazareth; and so of the *rule* by which he and his service are to be known. The *scriptures* tell us of the birth, life, ministry, death, resurrection, and ascension of Jesus of Nazareth; and, in brief, of the ministry and sufferings of his blessed followers and apostles; and it must be acknowledged to be a great mercy and privilege to us, that we have them: but *they* cannot savingly reveal Christ to a soul; neither can they give us the soul and substance of those things that are thereby *declared*. They are an exact *map*, or *picture* of things, but not the *things themselves*. It is the office of the *divine light* and *spirit* of *Christ* to shew men these secrets; and to none are they, or can they be known, but those that walk according to the convictions of it: first, “ In ceasing to do *evil*,
‘ and denying all ungodliness and the world’s lusts;” and then, “ in learning to do *well*, and living soberly,
“ *righteously*, and *godly* in this present world.” So that those that read the scriptures of truth, by which they have an *historical* knowledge of the coming of Christ, and so are a rule to *that* knowledge, as also to the doctrines therein expressly declared, they must come to the *light* of the *eternal word* to *understand* them, and to see the glory of the Only-begotten of the Father,

as those of old beheld it; else the scripture is as a sealed book. Who knows *God*, by *reading* of him; or *Christ*, by *reading* of him; or *regeneration*, by *reading* of it? unless God is pleased, by the *light* of his *Son*, the true "*Key of David*," to come in upon the soul, and open to it the deep things of God, viz. the *new creation*, or the *regeneration*, of man. Wherefore the *light* or *spirit* of *Christ*, (which are the same) is the first great rule; even the rule of *understanding* the scriptures, which we own to be the secondary rule: and we say, That a *measure* thereof is given to *all* to profit with; to *lighten* all, and search and lead all in the way of holiness, which is the way of eternal happiness. His minor proposition I must deny, viz. 'But never was any one man instructed by that *light* that is in the *conscience* of every *man*, that there ever was such an one as *Jesus* of *Nazareth*, much less that he was the *Lord*, and least of all what he *required* of his *servants*.'

In this I must dissent from him, especially as to the latter part: for though, as I have already said, the scriptures are an *historical* rule, and *doctrinal* too, so far as they are *plain* and *express*; yet the truest and most powerful evidence to authorize our belief of them, is the testimony of the *light* and *spirit* of the *eternal word*, from whence they *came*, and that answers to its *own*. This the martyrs asserted, as *Hooper*, *Bradford*, *Smith*, *Saunders*, *Rogers*, &c. also *Calvin*, *Beza*, *Peter Martyr*, and *Erasmus* himself, refer to it in proof of the divine authority of them; as may be seen in the "*Book of Martyrs*," as also in the writings of these authors upon the "*authority of the scriptures*." But if the light we contend for does not *ordinarily* reveal the *history* of *Jesus Christ*, who dare say it *cannot* do so? Is it not more reasonable to suppose that there may be no absolute *necessity* of it; since then God would have left much the greatest part of the world without the *means* of *salvation*? Yet if it reveal *that* which he commanded his servants both to *practise* and *preach*, it overthrows his proposition; and plainly proves that the *soul* and *substance* of what *Christ* commanded his followers, is revealed,

revealed, more or less, to *all people, in all nations*, by this despised *light within*. And, besides *experience*, (which I shall anon come to) the *holy scriptures* speak as much; for, says the prophet Micah, (Micah vi. 8.) "God hath *shewn* to thee, O man, what is *good*; and "what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do *justly*, "and love *mercy*, and to walk *bumbly* with thy God? Here is both *duty*, and the way to *understand* it. Now this duty and service, is the service of *God*, and so of *Jesus of Nazareth*, who came to *teach* men so to do, viz. "To do *justly*, love *mercy*, and walk *bumbly* with God." The *way* to know and do this, is God's *illumination* of man. "God has *shewn* unto thee, O man!" How does God *shew* man? "Whatsoever makes *manifest* is "light," says the apostle Paul to the Ephesians, Eph. v. 13, 14. So that it is by the *light* of the *word*, by which he made all things, that he *shews* unto men all things necessary to salvation, viz. "What is *good*, and what "he *requires* of him:" what service, homage, and obedience he expects. So that here we have both the *universality* and *sufficiency* of the light. Corresponding herewith is that great saying of the same apostle to the Romans, Rom. i. 19. "For that which may be *known* "of God is *manifest* in them, for God hath *shewn* it "unto them." Which way, I pray, does God *manifest* the knowledge of himself in men, but by the *light* of the blessed *word*, by whom he *made* man, and without whom nothing was made that is made? "In him was "life, and that life the light of men; and this is the "true light that enlightens every man that cometh "into the world." John i. 4, 9.

Now that the *Christian religion* is this duty, service, and knowledge of God, we may satisfy ourselves, from that blessed sermon of blessings, preached by Christ upon the mount, Matt. v. "Blessed are the poor in "spirit; blessed are they that mourn; (for their *sins*, "and for want of feeling peace with God) blessed "are the meek; blessed are they that hunger and thirst "after righteousness; blessed are the merciful; blessed "are the pure in heart; blessed are the peace-makers;

“ and blessed are they which are persecuted for righteousness sake.” If these *states* were *blessed*, and those who were under these blessed qualifications; then, to be sure, such were in the *service* of Jesus of Nazareth, though he was not then *offered-up*, and that they knew not his *history*. Now that all have a *light* to shew them the *happiness* of these states, the *universal testimony* of all *ages* and *nations* assures us; and, to deny it, is to say, ‘ The sun did never shine, since there was a man ‘ in the world !’

The same may be said of the rest of his excellent sermon: ‘ As that we should seek *God*, in the *first* place, ‘ and trust providence for the *rest*, and live by faith in ‘ his goodness; be charitable and devout without ostentation: not so much as lust in the mind, and speak ‘ truth without an oath; bear abuses; forgive enemies; be sparing of censuring others; and finally ‘ *do*, as well as *bear*, the word of God, and to all men ‘ as we would be done to.’ These excellent things, more naturally and excellently expressed in that *sermon*, than in the writings of the most enlightened *Gentiles*, are yet to be found up and down in the account given us of their lives and doctrines by *Strabo*, *Laertius*, *Herbert*, *Stanly*, *Cudworth*, and my part of the *Christian Quaker*. By all which it may be seen, that the *blessed word*, who did *himself* preach so plainly and fully, yet concisely, this admirable doctrine, had enlightened *those Gentiles* with great knowledge, and instructed them therein; and that, several hundred years before he came in the *flesh*. I hope the keeping of these *commands*, and obeying the *precepts* of Jesus of Nazareth, will be allowed to be the *service* of Jesus of Nazareth, or else nothing is; and if so, then I must conclude, he *may* be served and obeyed of those that are *not acquainted* with his coming in the *flesh*, and becoming *personally* an holy *minister* among the *Jews*, and, in conclusion, an holy *offering* for the *world*. For it is very possible that a man may receive *benefit* by a medicine, of whose *composition* he may be ignorant. And in *general pardons*, it is not commonly known, by those that sensibly
have

have the advantage thereof, by *whose* favour and advice the prince was influenced to *grant* it.

Since, then, humility, mercy, patience, purity, brotherly-kindness, faith in God, hope of life eternal, charity to men, doing as a man would be done to, and that with a distinct and religious reference and regard to him that must finally judge all men, must necessarily belong to the *service* of Jesus of Nazareth, since it is the *substance* of what Jesus of Nazareth *preached*, and the *end* of the labour, travels and writings of his blessed apostles, (and that these things were, in a measure, in the world, before the coming of Jesus of Nazareth in the flesh, and that even those that knew him, and received him when he did come, were those that walked up to the *light* of the *word*, by which alone his inward beauty and glory were seen) we may reasonably conclude, against this author, That the *light* with which the *Word-God* enlightened *men*, was a *divine, spiritual*, and saving light, because it revealed these truths to *Gentiles* as well as *Jews*, that had an *immediate* tendency to *salvation*; and that in *all ages*. And that whosoever have walked according to its righteous dictates, as well *before*, as since the coming of Christ (the *Eternal Word*) in the flesh, did so far perform the *service* of Jesus of Nazareth, as they thereby served the *God and Father* of Jesus of Nazareth; for says Christ himself, "He that doth the will of my *Father*, the same is my mother, my brother, and my sister."

To sum up this; once more, I say, We never said the light within is given to all mankind to reveal facts *done*, or *historical* accounts of persons and actions, though we cannot say it is not *able* to do it; but, ordinarily, the *nature* of things, as to *truth* and *falsehood*, *obligation* and *duty*, *commission* and *omission*: and therefore we say, That though *all* did not foresee the coming of Christ, with the circumstances that attended him, as some of the *prophets* did, (that being an *extraordinary* manifestation of this light) yet *all* had the *ordinary* manifestation of it, to do *justly*, love *mercy*, and walk *humbly* with the Lord: and so they have *now*, though they have not

the extraordinary revelation of the *history* of JESUS of Nazareth: in which respect we confess the scriptures to be a *secondary* rule, an *historical* rule, and a rule of the form of sound words in *doctrinal* truths: but the first and *great* rule is the *light* and *spirit* of God; as *that* was the rule to *them*, by *whom* the scriptures were given forth, in their *giving* them forth: and we also affirm, The light and spirit of God a rule to read and *understand* the scriptures by: and this was plainly seen in Christ's time: for the Jews that *rebelled* against the light, had the *veil* over their understandings, so that they could not *see* his glory, but judged of him according to *outward* appearance, which was not righteous judgment; but those that *loved* the light in that day, the truly conscientious to God, they brought their deeds to the light: they knew him to be the *Eternal Word*, manifested in the *flesh*, and thereby saw his *inward* glory to be that of "the only begotten of the Father, full of "Grace, and full of truth."

If he *object*, 'If all had this *light*, why did not all 'know him?' As, indeed, that is the weight of his objection, and other adversaries oppositions.

I answer; all have *reason*, but all are not *reasonable*; all do not *use* it: so all have *light*, but all do not *obey* it. It is not the light's insufficiency, but man's disobedience, that renders him *unable* of the knowledge of divine truth. Christ told the Jews, "If you "do my will, you shall know of my doctrine, whether "it be of God or no." Obeying the convictions, and first motions, of this divine light, will *increase* our light and knowledge. Disobedience makes an *unfruitful ground*, though the *seed* be *good* that is sown in it: so that the *ignorance* of those that *have* the light, is not chargeable upon the *light*, but their own *darkness*, which comprehends it not, through unbelief and disobedience. The scriptures, then, are the rule to us of the *history* of Jesus of Nazareth, and necessary to be believed where they are known; but the *divine light* and *spirit*, the first and great rule by which they are to be truly and *profitably*

profitably read and believed; and without which Christ could not have been *savingly* known when he was in the world; nor can he be known *now*, nor the scriptures that *declare* of him: HE is the common rule to mankind, who by his light reveals common and essential truths, relating to the fear of God, and working of righteousness: and it will be hard for this man to name one nation or person in the world, that knows not the reproofs of this principle! in *evil-doing*, and, in doing that which is *right*, has not a reference to the pleasing of Him, who is the great Rewarder and Preserver of men, notwithstanding his cavil to the contrary, pag. 12, 13. But I shall attend his farther exceptions.

Pag. 13. 'They affirm the *light within* is *Christ*; and I say then, it is nothing else but *Jesus of Nazareth*. If they make the light within to be *Christ*, and not *Jesus of Nazareth*, they make it *antichrist*: and because they worship God in this appearance (as they speak) they are *antichristian idolaters*.'

Answer. This way of arguing is very dark, as well as injurious. If by *Jesus of Nazareth* he only means what he took of the Virgin *Mary*, and will not consider him as the Eternal *Word*, but as *man*, like to us in all things, sin excepted, he is *not* the light within, that we declare of, and worship God in.

But this author, at the same time, declares not to believe that Christ *is* the Eternal *Word*, for he seems to deny his pre-existence; much more, that the world, and all that is therein, was *made* by him. And how orthodox that is, let the impartial judge. If he owns Christ to be the *Word-God* manifested in the *flesh*, then, I say, the light is *Christ*, as much as Christ can be called the *light*; and so not only *John* calls him, John i. 4, 9. but he calls himself so, John viii. 12.

This antagonist seems too eager and rash, or he would have reflected better upon the *way* of the Holy Ghost's speaking in *scripture*; for sometimes Christ is so called with relation to his divine nature, and sometimes

times with respect to his manhood. As he was of the seed of *Abraham*, he is not *God over all, blessed for ever*; he is not the *Eternal Word*, in whom is *life*, and that *life* is the *light* of men. And as he *hungred, thirsted, sorrowed, wept, died*, he was not the *Divine Light* that lighteth every man that cometh into the world: yet he is alternatively called *Christ*, sometimes *Christ without man*, sometimes *Christ in man*, the hope of his glory; according to the double respect he stood and stands in. Let not men separate what God has joined; which has been too much the practice of our opposers, to draw a line of reflection over our religion, as if it denied *Jesus of Nazareth* to be *Christ the Lord*, because we asserted him the *Light of the world*, and as such to be *in man*: whereas they who consider him but in one capacity, are too strict with the text, to wrong us, and so in the end draw the reflection upon themselves. But to run this abuse on the Holy Ghost, as well as us, so high, as therefore to stile us *anticristian idolaters*, shews a bitterness, as well as mistake, that by no means becomes a critick upon other mens religion.

But that he may apply this injustice home, he is pleased that it should light upon me, and therefore he quotes a passage out of my part of the *Christian Quaker*, though not the page. I wave the *scurrility* of his introduction to it, pag. 14, 15. This is the passage, as he gives it:

“ *The power, life, and light which inhabited that Holy Person, which (or who) was born at Bethlehem, was and is, chiefly and eminently, the Saviour, as prepared for the work which Christ had to do in him.*”
 ‘ *By which (says he) he makes the light within to be their Christ, and Jesus of Nazareth the prepared instrument of this Christ.*’

Now by this, the reader will have a clear taste of the justice of this writer.

My words are thus laid down by me, (*Christian Quaker*, pag. 104. chap. 21.) “ *We confess, that though the eternal power, life, light, which inhabited that Holy Person which was born at Nazareth, was, and is,*
 “ *chiefly*

“chiefly and eminently the Saviour, Hof. xiii. 4. (For “there is no Saviour besides me, saith God,” this he left out) “yet that it was instrumentally a Saviour, as “prepared and chosen for the work which Christ had then “to do in it, which was actually to the salvation of “some, and intentionally of the whole world, then, and “in ages to come; suitable to that scripture, Heb. x. 5, “6. Lo I come, in the volume of the book it is “written of me, to do thy will, O God! A body “thou hast prepared me.” By which it is plain with what unfairness he gave my words before: first, he left out my quotation out of Hosea, “For there is no “Saviour besides me, saith God;” whereby it appears that the eternal power, life, and light, was eminently concerned in man’s salvation. Secondly, he concealed that scripture in the conclusion of the paragraph, out of the Hebrews, “A body hast thou prepared me,” &c. which plainly interprets what I mean by *person*, and by *which*, and *it*, that he is pleased to change for *who*, and *he* and *him*, to render me at once absurd and erroneous, and about which he calls me a *lewd author*, and all to naught. This was done of malice, doubts, the better to have his evil end of me, by wringing my words to the sense he designed they should bear. Making me to *divide*, as well as *distinguish*, between *Christ* and *Jesus of Nazareth*, and *Christ* and him that was born of the *Virgin Mary*, reading *it*, *he* and *him*, which referred to the body; so making me to intend *Jesus of Nazareth*, completely considered, when I plainly intended, from the nature of the words of the text, and those words and the scripture cited by me, in proof and illustration of what I meant by them, the *body* of *Christ Jesus of Nazareth*.

Thus much of his construction of the words he quotes out of the “Christian Quaker,” before cited: but if he will allow us to speak our own mind in our own words, and had rather we were in the right than in the wrong, which does but become an ingenuous author (though it thereby appear that we are not what
he

he had said us to be) then let him know, we do not *divide*, or *distinguish*, between *Christ*, and *Jesus of Nazareth*. Nor did we ever say, that *Jesus of Nazareth* is *Christ's instrument* to appear in, and by, for man's salvation; but, that the "*Word took flesh*," and *this is the Christ, or Anointed of God*: and though sometimes the term *Christ* is given to the *Word*, sometimes to the prepared *body* he took, as when he is said to *die*, and be *buried*, and *raised again*, &c. yet "*God manifest in the flesh*," and "*Immanuel*," *God with us*, in our *nature*, is that *Christ of God*, or *Christ the Lord*, that God hath, and will exalt; the *Enlightener*, *Redeemer*, and *Saviour of the world*, both an offering for all, and the *Mediator* and *Sanctifier of all*, that desire to come to God by Him.

But he farther urges against us, and our doctrine of the light within, as what is fallacious on our part to draw in profelytes, and which he terms a *putid sophism*, pag. 21, 22. viz. 'Is there not a *light* in every man's conscience? You experience one in your *own*. And is not *God light*? And *Christ light*? And is not *God within*, and *Christ within*? Now this is all very true: but when from hence they infer, God is the light within, it is *putid sophism*. God being *light*, and being *within* men, proves not that God is a *light within* men. God is *light*, and God is within *other* things as well as *men*: is then God a *light within* to every *tree*, every *beast*, every *star*? If this be absurd, then God's being *light*, and being *within*, proves but *sophistically* that He is the *light within*. And yet this is the constant method the *Quakers* use to teach their people the *divinity of the light within*.

Answer. I hope he will find no cause to blame me for *imperfect*, and less for *perverted* quotations. I cite him fairly and fully. Now, for answer, I say, I never saw or heard of that way of reasoning or tampering, as he stiles it, that he charges upon us to make profelytes by. And I think I ought to be at least as well versed in our way and writings as himself. All reasonable

sonable people will readily allow, they have such a light; and in reading the holy scriptures, they find the enlightened penmen call *God* light, and *Christ* light, and are naturally led to believe, that their light is from *God*, the Fountain of all light, especially when they read the first chapter of *John*, and that of his first epistle also. And it is granted by this man, that *God* is *in* men, and that *God* is a *light* within men. Indeed his argument does not prove it, for it is not regularly formed to make such a conclusion, which is his fault, because it is of his own making: but neither is it a sophism, or sophistical in us, nor is the reason good that he gives against it, viz. Because it is absurd to say, 'That *God* is a light within trees, 'beasts, and stars,' because *God* is light within them, and *God* is light; therefore it is so to say, That *God* is a light within *men*. For trees, beasts, and stars, &c. are not of man's nature and capacity, they are not *capable* of such a manifestation of the light of *God*, as man is: *God* is in them after another and lower manner, and to other ends and purposes. But why *God*, who is confessed to be *light*, and *in* man, should not be a light then *to* man, I cannot comprehend. I do not say that it strictly follows in the argument, but the reason given against it is *no* reason; and reason and scripture judge for us. For man being a *reasonable* creature, it is his duty, and the end of his being, to *know* and serve *God*, the Author of it; but this he cannot do, unless *God* *manifest* himself unto him; and since this man grants, 'That *God* is light, and in 'some sort *in* man,' to what better purpose, or which way more properly and beneficially, can he be said to be *in* man, than as a *light* shining there, to give him the *knowledge* of *God*? So that he is not only there as the Creator and Supporter of his being, but as his *Illuminator* and *Instructor* to his well-being. The scriptures already cited sufficiently prove, that *God* is light, and *Christ* is light, and that all men are *enlightened* by him; and to be sure it must be with his *own* light. Now, though with a fair adversary, one might say, without

without offence, 'That *God*, or *Christ*, is the light 'within man,' yet it is not the common way of our expressing ourselves.

To be sure we have no such meaning in that way of speaking, as some adversaries strain our words to, as if God and Christ were comprehensible *in* and *by* man, to render us absurd and blasphemous. But we rather chuse to say, 'That God, or Christ, who is 'light, hath *lighted* man; and by the light of *Christ* 'in man, man comes to know God and Christ: and 'that the light in man, is the light of *God*, or of '*Christ*;' and not that God, or Christ, is the *light* in man. The light in a room at noon-day, is the light of the *sun*; but the *SUN* cannot so properly be said to be in the room, because its *light* is there; for the glorious, unapproachable *BODY* of it is elsewhere. I hope this will not pass with the sober reader for a *puuid sophism*.

He farther says, p. 24. 'I may not now-a-days, therefore, tell *Quakers* their own religion is *false*, without 'telling them what is the *truth*; lest I should tempt 'them to leave *Quakerism* for impiety and irreligion, 'and not for the service of *Jesus Christ*.'

Answer. We are beholden to him, that he thinks our religion a bar to impiety and irreligion; and I wish neither had appeared in his opposing of it. The truth he has a mind to tell us, lieth in a few words, upon which he bestows no less than fifteen pages, (*viz.*) 'That the light which God hath given to man 'for salvation, generally speaking, is, besides creation 'and providence, the writings of the inspired men 'of the Old and New Testament, which we call the 'scriptures of *truth*; no light, spirit, or grace, commonly or ordinarily opening and assisting our understandings in the reading of them; but that the light, 'which is in men, is the effects of the *perceptive* faculties of our minds, that is, our *thoughts*,' as he also tells us, pag. 9. So that what we read and hear with our outward eyes and ears, is thereby reported to
our

our mind or judgment, whose *conclusion* thereupon is this man's *light within*.

But, methinks, before he had been so positive and voluminous in his own notion, (where he will find very few abettors, I believe) he should have been so fair as to have considered what I have said in my *Key*, p. 1; 2. That seems to me to have more materially referred to *another* light within, than he has yet brought himself to. I will give the passage at large as it lieth, that it may speak for itself:

“ The Quakers belief and assertion is, That Christ,
 “ who is the Word, that was with God, and was God
 “ (John i. 4, 9.) and is so for ever) hath enlightened
 “ every man that cometh into the world, with his
 “ *own* light; as he is that *true* light, or such a light
 “ as there is no other to be *compared* to him; which
 “ is the meaning of the emphasis *true* in the text.
 “ And that such as follow the reproofs, convictions,
 “ and leadings of that light, with which he enlightens
 “ the understandings and consciences of men, shall
 “ not walk in darkness: that is, in *evil*, and *ignorance*
 “ of God; but shall have the light of life: that is,
 “ be in an holy and *living* state or condition towards
 “ God: a state of acceptance and salvation, which is
 “ from *sin*, as well as from *wrath*; (see Isa. xlix. 6.
 “ John i. 4, 9. c. iii. 21. c. v. 40. c. viii. 12.
 “ c. x. 10.) And for which end Christ was given of
 “ God. So that they assert the light of *Christ* to be
 “ sufficient to save; that is, to convince of sin, lead
 “ out of it, and quicken the soul in the ways of ho-
 “ linefs: and not a *natural* light, otherwise than as *all*
 “ *men*, born into the world, have a measure of
 “ *Christ's* light, and so it may, in a sense, be said to
 “ be *natural* to all men, because all men *have* it. For
 “ this light is *something* else than the bare *understand-*
 “ *ing* man hath as a rational creature: for as such,
 “ man cannot be a light to himself; but has only a
 “ *capacity* of *seeing*, by means of the *light* with which
 “ *Christ*, the *Word*, enlighteneth him. For we can
 “ no more be a *mental* or *intellectual* light to ourselves,
 “ than

“ than we are an *external* and *corporeal* light to ourselves: but as the *sun* in the firmament is the light of our *bodies*, so the light of the divine *word* is the sun of our *souls*; the glorious luminary of the intellectual world; and they that walk in it, will, by it, be led to blessedness.” Rev. xxi. 24.

Of all which, he takes this imperfect notice, ‘ The concurrence of many causes being requisite to produce faith, the *Quakers* confound these inspirations with the *light*, and attribute the efficiency of one cause to another; which must needs pervert all sound judgment of things, and make them speak inconsistencies; as when W. P. says, “ *Man* cannot be a light to *himself*,” ‘ as if the denial of the *divinity* of the light within, implied any such thing; and ‘ man has only a *capacity* to see;” ‘ as if the defect was in God’s works in nature, and in the scripture, and not in man’s *seeing* faculty. Now such expressions shew his apprehensions are much perverted about these things.’

Answer. But this shews my opponent to be either shallow, or worse. I would be so charitable as to think he mistakes me, and in the conclusion abuseth himself. For why do the *Quakers* confound these inspirations with the light? We never limited all divine inspirations and operations to the light, merely as it is *light*, as physically, and by his natural philosophy, he seems to explain it. We ever meant a *principle* in man, that is not *of* man, that is variously denominated by its various operations: *light*, from discerning and distinction: *spirit*, from life and power: *word*, as it speaks forth God’s mind to man: *truth* in the inward parts, as it deals truly with man, and would redeem him from lying vanities: and *grace*, as it is God’s gift, and not man’s understanding, or man’s merit. I shall not therefore quarrel with his natural philosophy, p. 37, when he says, ‘ The sun generates all life, and its faculties in bodies, but not by its light;’ for we never said it did, with reference to the light within; else all men would have divine *life* as well

well as light; which was never our assertion, nor a just conclusion from that which is, it being scripture, viz. John i. 4. "In Him, the Word, is life, and that life " the *light* of men;" not the *life* of men, but as they *obey* it: according to that clear and full expression of our blessed Lord, John viii. 12. "I am the light of " the world; he that followeth me shall not walk in " darkness, but shall have the light of life;" that is *life*, as well as light. They that read him, will see who keeps nearest to the text, and who walks closest to the rule and form of sound words; which, we hope, neither he, nor any of his abettors, shall ever be able to draw or drive us from.

For the use he makes of these words of mine; "And man has only a *capacity* to see;" (viz.) 'As if ' the defect was in God's works in nature and in the ' scriptures, and not in man's *seeing* faculties;' he utterly mistakes me; I will not say, wilfully; but upon that he makes a great pother, and depends the strength of his conclusion: for I speak of man in his *creation*, and he of man in his *fall*. The conclusion cannot be right, that is drawn from wrong premises; and I hope he, when he thinks again, will think so too; and that his pains, p. 36, 37. might have been spared. For I hope he will not think there was any defect in paradise! as there must have been, if man had been defective in his seeing faculty; for even there he was but *man*, and, as such, he could not be his *own* light; which is plain, in that when he erred, he erred from something else than *himself*, himself *erring*; therefore that something else must be the *divine light* he erred from; in which if he had kept, the subtle insinuations of the serpent had never prevailed.

Man, then, had only the *capacity* of seeing all divine objects; as truth, wisdom, goodness, mercy, justice, power, &c. which were only discernible by the insinings of this divine light of the word of God. And since he alludes so strictly in his instances from the creation and natural philosophy, I hope he will allow me to say, that as the *eye* of man, though never

so capable of seeing, cannot see any object before it in the dark, unless an outward light give it the sight thereof; so no man's *soul* can see divine objects, though its eye, or seeing faculty, were ever so capable, unless the divine light shined *in* it, to give unto it the knowledge of the glory of God therein. And I have not only my own experience, but that of *good* men in all ages of the world, according to the degree of the manifestation of the divine light, wherein they agree, and cannot err: humility, obedience, love, patience, meekness, purity, charity, &c. are sensibly wrought in men by this divine principle. *Sensibly*. I say, for all his "*Insensible dogmas*," pag. 37, 38, 39. as that man is not sensible of the divine agency, or inspiration of the Almighty. 'For we know,' says he, 'by *reasoning*; but not by *sense* or *conscience*:' abusing that scripture to countenance his insensible assertion, "The wind bloweth where it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, but know not whence it comes, nor whither it goes;" which is not spoken of the *regenerate* man's not knowing *how* he is regenerated, but that *other* men know it not with all their wisdom and knowledge, that are not spiritually illuminated and experienced in the same work: answerable to that place in the Revelations of John, "That he that overcomes, shall have a white stone, and a new name, that none shall know but he that *has it*;" that is, but such conquerors: for they that are overcome of the world, can never taste or judge of the rewards of those that do overcome it.

And very sorry I am for this opposer, that he allows man no spiritual senses, or that which answers to our outward senses; and if he does, surely they are to see, hear, smell, taste, and feel something else than *himself*. How gross, then, is his position, p. 37. 'But this I may say, that neither is the illuminating, or renewing, or regenerating, or any other divine inspiration, immediately perceptible to any sense, inward or outward, in human nature; and if so, it is certain none of these can be a light within us.' But why it is

not

not so, he has not told us; he *cannot* tell us, nor any man else. To all which I shall oppose a few scriptures, and then attend his abuse of those I cited in my KEY, and me, for the application of them.

That there is *another* light and spirit that attend men, than the ‘*Effects* of the *perceptive faculties* of ‘*their own minds*,’ as this man calls it, I urge that passage in Genesis vi. 3. “My Spirit shall not always “strive with men.” A plain proof that God strove with the old world by his Holy Spirit; which could not be, if they had it *not*, or were *unsensible* of any such thing. Nehemiah ix. 20. it is said, that “God “gave them his good Spirit, but they rebelled against “it;” therefore they *had* it. David prays that God “would not take his Holy Spirit from him;” which shews it was *with* him, and that not as a prophet, but ordinarily speaking; for his transgression was too heinous for that dignity, without a course of repentance, and a restoration to his former state, which in the same psalm he prays for: but it is evident, as bad as he was, he had yet the holy Spirit in *that* sense, in which we assert a “measure of it is to be given to *all* to “profit with,” as the apostle speaks, 1 Cor. xii. 7. Else he could not have said, “And take not thy holy “Spirit from me;” as much as to say, ‘For if thou ‘dost utterly deprive me of it, I shall grow dark, ‘hard and impenitent, and be undone for ever.’

The Lord, by the prophet Isaiah, proves, that his Spirit should successively attend his people: these are his words: “And as for me, this is my covenant with “them, saith the Lord; My Spirit that is upon thee “(*Christ*) and my words which I have put in thy “mouth, shall not depart out of thy mouth, nor out “of the mouth of thy seed’s seed, saith the Lord, “from henceforth and for ever,” chap. lix. 21. **And**, I pray, who are Christ’s seed and offspring, but true Christians? And, as such, they are entitled to this promise, and therefore have the Spirit of God, and the fresh and living revelation of it, whose words are “spirit and life.”

Thus the prophet, chap. xlv. 3. "I will pour water upon him that is thirsty, and floods upon the dry ground: I will pour my *Spirit* upon thy *seed*, and my blessing upon thine offspring." A most ample and close proof to my point, that God gives his *Spirit* to men, and that there is *something more* than the light of reading and hearing of men and books, or the *perceptive faculty* of the mind, to *instruct* men: and that, not only in extraordinary cases, and on singular and eminent occasions, (which our opponent allows, as to *Moses*, the *prophets*, and *apostles*) but ordinarily, commonly, successively: for to that the text plainly reaches.

The prophet Joel is yet more comprehensive, ch. ii. 28. "And it shall come to pass afterwards, that I will pour out my *Spirit* upon *all flesh*;" young and old, hand-maids and servants: no age, no sex, no degree shall be exempted. The apostle Peter applied this very text to the dawning of the primitive Christian days, as then begun to be accomplished, Acts ii. 17. Not that that which befel the apostles and disciples of Jesus in that time, was the *complete* answering of that prophecy, for that was not *all flesh*. Besides, the very same apostle, in the same sermon, ver. 39, tells his auditors, that were made up of no less than fourteen several nations, "That the promise was to *them* and to their *children*, and to all that were *afar off*, whom the Lord should call:" so that the gifts of the *Spirit* were the fulfilling of the gospel-promise, and consequently the great gospel-privilege and qualification.

The apostle Paul tells us, Rom. viii. that there is an absolute necessity that people should have the *Spirit* of God *dwelling* in them, and that they should be *led and conducted* by it, or they cannot be the children of God. Ver. 1. "There is no condemnation to them that are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the *Spirit*." Here it is the *Christian rule*.

Again,

Again, ver. 12. "But if the Spirit of him that raised Jesus from the dead, *dwell in you*, he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit, that *dwelleth in you*:" so that the indwelling of the Spirit did quicken and comfort the ancient Christians, and was apostolical doctrine.

Again, ver. 14, 15, 16. "For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the *sons of God*;" which they cannot be, if they have it *not*: "For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear, but the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry Abba, Father. The Spirit *itself* beareth witness with *our* spirit, that we are the children of God:" so that it is plain they *had* the Spirit. And I wonder what witness Christians must have *now*, that they are the children of God, if not the *same* Spirit; since, if this adversary say true, there is no such gift common to Christians now, but only the ' *Notices* God has given to all, of his thoughts and mind, by *creation* and ' *scripture*.' But, alas! too apparent it is that this man knows little of the workings of God's Spirit, that so unspiritually speaks of it. Did not our blessed Lord say, John iii. 5. "That unless man be born of the Spirit, he could not enter into the kingdom of God?" Was this only for the primitive times? Then men ever since have not been *saveable*, for they have wanted the *means* of salvation, to wit, REGENERATION. And if regeneration be necessary to all, how can a man be rationally said to be *born* of the Spirit, and not to *have* the Spirit he is *born of*; or be (as Peter phraseth it) a *partaker* of the DIVINE nature, 2 Pet. i. 4. But more than this, Christ told his disciples, that the *Spirit of Truth* he would send them, though it should be a *comforter* to them that believed in him, and followed him, yet it should *reprove* the *world* of sin; which could not be, if the world had not such a measure of the Spirit, as to *reprove* them in their evil-doing. And, indeed, all that will be serious and reflect, must confess, from experience, they

have enough of it to reprove them for that which is evil, and to bear a true and faithful witness against every evil way.

Memorable is that second chapter of the apostle, in his first epistle to the Corinthians, (a worldly-wise people, whose faculties were as perceptive as our opponents, I doubt not) concerning the office, efficacy, and necessity of the Holy Spirit, to know God, and our duty to him, in order to salvation.

And what has been said of the HOLY SPIRIT, may be said of the DIVINE LIGHT, as one of the earliest books in scripture tells us, Job xxiv. 13. "They are of those," says Job, speaking of the wicked, "that rebel against the *Light*." Then they *had* it: and if *they* had it, *all* had it: for, to be sure, the *righteous* were not without it.

Again, "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord," Prov. xx. 27. But it must be *lighted* by that light we speak of, or it is a *dark* candle. Now God lights the candle of the wicked; much more is he the light of the candle of the righteous.

Again, he says, "How often is the candle of the wicked *put out!*" Job xxi. 17. Prov. xiii. 9. Which shews it is often *lighted*; and if *they* have the light, the *righteous*, to be sure, are not without it: for, "The way of the just is a shining *light*, which shines more and more to the perfect day." Obedience to light received, *increases* light. Now, if the way of the just be a shining light, to be sure the light is saving, or is the way to salvation: and so the beloved disciple has it, Revel. xxi. "The nations of them that are saved shall walk in the light."

David says also, in proof of our point, "The LORD is my light and my salvation," Psalm xxvii. 1. Then he had an higher and clearer light than his own *perceptive faculties*.

Again, "Thy WORD is a light to my feet, and a lantern to my paths," Psal. cxix. 105. Which was an inward and spiritual word; for it was such an one

as he could *find* in his *heart*, according to Moses, Deut. iii. and the apostle, Rom. x.

David also, Psal. xlii. prayed, that the Lord would “send forth his *light* and his *truth*,” which were the same thing, “that it might lead and bring people to “his holy hill and tabernacle.” This was *more* than *man*, or what was of man’s constitution or composition: more than the perceptive faculties of the mind.

Moreover, God declared by the prophet Isaiah, That he had given “CHRIST for a light to lighten “the Gentiles;” which was more than man’s *wit* or *understanding*, to be sure. And though Christ was a *light* in his *doctrine*, *miracles*, and *example*, yet he was, and is, a light *within* also, to enlighten the *mind*, as John i. 4. 9. with many more, before observed. And this light and spirit are of the same *principle*, or the same *principle* that is both spirit and light; though, it may be, strictly speaking, not both in one and the same *act* or *operation*, as has been already noted. Nevertheless, the scripture makes them to have one operation, comparing John xvi. 7. with Eph. v. 13. For the first makes it the office of the *Spirit* to “convince “the world of *sin*;” and the latter place tells us, “That whatever is *reproved* is made manifest by the “*light* :” and the apostle gives this for the reason, “because,” says he, “whatever makes *manifest* is “*light* :” an assertion that can never be denied. And as true it is, that it must be a divine light, that reveals divine truths. And because it is necessary that all should *know* them, for their salvation, (since God would have all come to the knowledge of the truth, and be saved) the consequence must be good, that all *have* this divine light; more, or less, for salvation, though all do not obey it.

I might proceed to enumerate scriptures through the prophets, evangelists, and epistles; but I think what I have said is a double portion: and therefore I recommend it to the candid reader’s serious perusal and observation; and I doubt not but he will discern the verity and charity of our principles, and the unjust exceptions of our opponent to them.

I come next to consider his cavils against our citation of scripture, and indeed against the scripture itself, which will not be hard to evince.

Page 41. He is angry, because I say that Christ has enlightened men with his *own* light; calls this very hard names; and says, 'It is the Quakers Apocrypha:' but we abide by it; and are taught so to do by the scriptures, that he would have the world believe we deny, and make apocryphal. John's i. 4. "In him (*Christ*) was life, and the life the light of men." Now if this be not *man's* light, and if this light, which is the life of the *word*, be not the *light* of the word, let me be blamed: if it be, how preposterous must this man be, to use me so harshly for a truth so plain as well as important?

The next scripture is that in Prov. xx. 27. "The spirit of man is the candle of the Lord, searching all the inward parts of the belly."—"That is," says he, 'the spirit of man, which God hath made, hath, in its nature, a consciousness of all his thoughts, purposes, and counsels within him.' But this word consciousness supposes a knowledge, together with *something else*, that gives us that knowledge: it is the very import of the words: and what is that, but that divine light which gives *light* to the candle? For a candle cannot light *itself*; and, by the repetition of sin, is said to be often *blown out*. For though it cannot blow that *light* out, it blows out its *enlightenings*. Thus sin quenches the Spirit; that is, the *enlivenings* and *quickenings* of it; for the Spirit *ITSELF* cannot be quenched. Now this note of his is so far from overthrowing our use of this scripture, that it establishes it, and defeats him of the end he proposed in opposing us.

Thus he abuses us, and that passage of our Saviour Christ, "If the light that is in you be darkness, how great is that darkness!" as if Christ meant any light but that of man's *mistake* and *presumption*; or that we could assert God to be that light in us, which Christ said might be *darkness*: for this man says, 'If the
' light

'light in us, here mentioned, was the light that is 'good, the supposal that it might possibly be darkness, 'would be a blasphemous supposition.' He is to be pitied, as well as reprov'd, that can rave after this manner.

The use I make of that scripture, 2 Cor. iv. 6. "God, that commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ;" was thus: 'That God 'had lighted the *hearts* of men, by breaking through 'the darkness there, with his divine light.' This author, p. 43. limits this light to the apostles and fellow-labourers; and all the rest are to see with *their* eyes, and without that divine light in themselves: in fine, to be concluded by their authority, and not their own conviction; for what he says centers there. Whereas the apostle's mission and business, was "to "turn people from the *darkness* (that was in them- "selves) to the *light*," that had shined there uncom- prehended: also to be made manifest, in their preach- ing, to the *consciences* of people; which could not be, in divine truths, without a divine *light*. I must leave this way of our opponent's treating of scripture to my reader's consideration.

Page 45 to 57. His next abuse is, that of John i. 9. about which he bestows room for reason, being no less than twelve pages. He that can make more of them than these three following heads, has a better understanding than mine.

1. 'That the life that is come by Christ is, that we 'shall *out-live* the *grave*;' not, that the soul is made spiritually alive to God, while in this world, by divine quickenings, to the use of her spiritual sensations, that sin had taken away, by bringing her under a spiritual lethargy or death: which, how agreeable it is to that saying of Christ, John viii. 12, "That they that follow him should have the light of "life;" and, John vi. "Unless you eat my flesh, "and

“and drink my blood, you have no life in you,” (which implies an inward and living state of the mind towards God on this side the grave) I must also leave with my confederate reader, that has any relish or taste of divine things.

2. The second thing he objects upon our use of this scripture, (John i. 9.) is our making “*coming into the world*” to refer to *man*, and not to *Christ*; ‘which,’ says he, ‘is first a redundancy of speech; and next, *dangerous*; for it is as if a man came from *another world into this.*’ Now I would have this critick know, if he can be ignorant of it, that divers learned Protestant commentators have taken that way, as have some of the fathers, and all the translators that I can compass, be it into the Latin versions, or our vulgar European tongues; as my reader may please to see at large, in a book of mine, called, *The Spirit of Truth Vindicated*, from p. 52 to p. 62. So that he must allow we are in good company, if mistaken; since so many criticks and commentators are with us; as singular and erroneous as he is pleased to represent us. But where is the *redundancy*? Why, it is, ‘that *every man* would have served, without the *words coming into the world*, which follow them.’ No wonder he is so churlish to *our* writings, that affords the *holy scripture* no more respect. If he will read several chapters of that beloved disciple’s writings, and, indeed, of many other of the holy penmen’s, he may, if he please, make the like exceptions. Thus that saying of Job, used in the liturgy, in the office for the dead, “*Man that is born of a woman,*” &c. for, according to this critick’s learning, *man* had been enough; and the addition, *that is born of a woman*, dangerous; for that it implies there are men that are *not born* of women: which, I think, would not mightily recommend his skill or judgment; as his exception cannot justly impeach the propriety of the holy scriptures. And if this adversary did believe that Christ *made* man, he would believe he *enlightens* him, as well as *made* him; and that the first ten verses of that chapter

chapter refer to his *divinity*: what he was in *himself*, and what he was and is to *man*, as the *Word God*, by whom the whole world was made, and man, in an excellent manner, *enlightened*; and this before any mention is made of his taking flesh, or coming of the seed of Abraham.

3. But he would have *lighteth* limited to Christ's coming in the *flesh*, and that all were enlightened *then* by him: now, I will not say, he was not a glorious *light* in his ministry and miracles, in his life and sufferings; for if his *disciples* were by him called the "*Lights of the world*," doubtless it may be better said of him, their Lord and original, that *he* was the *light* of the world. But this hinders not that he should be the light of the world in a more proper and *immediate* manner, by his shining in the *understandings* of men, and giving them thereby the knowledge of their duty to God, and one to another. I must refer him to what I have said in my former book upon this head also; in answer to one that denied the pre-existence of Christ, or that he had a being before he was born of the virgin *Mary*; in whose steps this man seems to tread. If he will read from page 62 to 86, and the reasons and numerous authorities, these may, perhaps, persuade him that the 9th verse of the first of John, wholly relates to the *word* before he took flesh, and as he is the *immediate* enlightener of the souls of men. "In him was life, and the life the light of men," verse 4. This was neither sun, moon, nor stars; nor yet the effect of the *perceptive faculties* of our *souls*, nor yet any *outward* and *ministerial* light whatever; of all which I leave the sober reader to judge.

Page 52, 53. As for the gross absurdity that he would run us into, of being *Be-Godded* and *Be-Christed*, according to our principle, he has shewn sufficiently he does not understand it; and therefore no matter for his wild consequences, by which he would disgrace it: but if by being *Be-Christed*, we are to understand *divine kindred* and *membership*, through *true Christening*, which

is the *anointing*, 1 John ii. 20, 27. we shall not shrink from the word, because of his out-cries at us for it. I have already declared what we intend by being enlightened; and that our principle is not capable of any of the wild inferences, this man, through great ignorance or malice, charges upon it. But before I leave this head, I must observe one distinction of his, page 54, 55, 56. that, to himself, doubtless, looks very apt and determining, viz. 'That we are not enlightened ' by what God *is*, but what God *does*.' This is upon my saying, "That God enlightens men with his *own* " light;" calling me all to naught for that phrase, as unscriptural, and of a meditated temperament, to amuse my readers with: rendering the light, which we say true Christians ought to walk by, to be no otherwise God's *own* light, than the sun and the rain are his *own* sun and rain: not of his *nature*, but of his *creation* only: that I take to be his meaning, a little plainer than he has expressed it. To which I reply, in that famous and suitable text of the beloved disciple, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. "This, then, is the message which we have heard of " him, and declare unto you, *That God is light*, and " in him is no darkness at all: if we say that we have " fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie " and do not the truth: but if we walk in the light, " as he is *in* the light, we have fellowship one with " another, and the blood of Jesus Christ his Son " cleanseth us from all sin." Here I leave him to consider of this *light*; whether it be a *created* one; such an one, as is not what God *is*, but what God *does*; and shall attend his perversion of my present use, and our common sense, of several scriptures, cited in favour of our *inward principle*: and then shall conclude my reply to his pretended answer to that part of my *KEY*, which relates to the light within.

That I may make the point plainer to the reader, I shall first lay down the *perversion* mentioned in my *KEY*, then our *principle* upon it, with those scriptures he takes occasion to twist and turn from our true sense and end in citing them, and of which he is so conscious to himself,

himself, that, to anticipate my reply, he gives it *for me*, as I shall anon observe, and not a great way from our true sense.

Pervers. ‘The *Quakers* hold, That the *light* within them is *God, Christ*, and the *Holy Spirit*: so that every *Quaker* has *whole God, Christ*, and *Holy Spirit* in him; which is gross blasphemy.’ KEY, p. 2, 3.

By this my reader will see what we except against, viz.

The blasphemy of making every *Quaker* comprehend *whole God* and *Christ*, and *Holy Spirit* in him.

Now I must desire him to observe what our *principle* says to this suggestion.

Principle. ‘This is also a mistake of their belief: they never said, That every *divine illumination* or *manifestation* of *Christ*, in the hearts of men, was *whole God, Christ*, or the *Spirit*; whereby to be guilty of that gross and blasphemous absurdity, some would fasten upon them: but that *God*, who is *light*, or the *Word-Christ*, who is *light*, the *quickeningspirit*, and *God* over all, blessed for ever, hath *enlightened* mankind with a *measure* of *saving light*: so that the *illumination* is from *Christ*, the *divine word*; but not therefore *whole God* or *Christ* in *every man*, any more than the *whole sun* or *air* is in *every house* or *chamber*. There are no such harsh and unscriptural words in their writings: it is only a frightful perversion of some of their enemies, to bring a scandal upon their holy faith. Yet, *in a sense*, the scriptures say it, and that is their (the *Quakers*) sense, in which they only say the same thing.’ “He that is *with you* shall be *in you*: I will not leave you comfortless, I will come to you: I in *them*, and they in *us*: *Christ* in us, the hope of glory: unless *Christ* be *in you*, ye are reprobates. Little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until *Christ* be formed *in you*.”

This is my explanation of our principle about the light, from the perversions of our adversaries: by which the uncandid dealing of this man must be very obvious; since, besides his silence, and that he seems

to shut his eyes to our explanation and vindication of what we hold, from what he charges, he doubles the perversions, by changing and misgiving the end for which the scriptures were cited by me: for he makes us to quote them to prove what we expressly deny, as a false charge upon us; and carries them at least beyond, if not against, the intent and reason of their quotations, which he knows deserves a black name, since they were never quoted to prove *whole God* and Christ to be in *every man*, or to be *so* in *any man*: but that God, Christ, and the Spirit, were, in some near manner, in the people of God. For the very perversion runs it no farther than the people called *Quakers*; that every one of us are suggested to have whole God, and whole Christ, and the Spirit in us: which is to improve, as I said before, upon the very perversion.

Hear him, page 58. ‘ Christ says not here, that any man, except his *disciples*, shall have him *in* them; that Christ is in *none*, but those that are in *him*; that he is not in reprobates, so not in *every man*; that he was not in the Galatians; that they must be *new* creatures that have him; so all against *W. P’s* purpose.” But what *was* my purpose, I pray? Hear the *Key* again.

“ Yet, *in a sense*, the scriptures say it, and that is *their* (the Quakers) sense, in which they only say “ the same thing.” What fair or wise adversary would have been guilty of so ill a thing, and so easily to be detected? Is any thing plainer than, First, That *every Quaker*, and not *every man*, is in the perversion? Secondly, That I deny, in the name of that people, any such blasphemous principle, as that *every Quaker* has *whole God in him*, but much the contrary; explaining our principle, of which he takes no notice. Thirdly, That yet we own God, Christ, and Holy Spirit, to be in the people called Quakers; but that it is according to a *sense*: in what sense do I say it? Why, the sense in which the *scriptures* say it.

Now,

Now, reader, judge thou, and not I, what to call this man, that with so much falsehood obtrudes upon us the untruest things and unworthiest abuses for the principles of the people called Quakers. And to shew him to himself yet more plainly, he has provided me with the means of doing it, which I touched upon before, viz. ‘ That the Quakers use to say, None but *believers* have Christ in *union*, but *all others* have Christ *in them.*’ Which, at least, gives away the point: for if Christ be, in some sense or other, in *every* man, yet he is not said by me, in the foregoing scriptures, to be in any but believers. And he makes too bold with us also, in saying, in our name, ‘ That *Christ* is in all ‘ men;’ for we chuse rather to express ourselves otherwise, as, ‘ That a *manifestation* of Christ is in every ‘ man,’ or ‘ That the *light* of Christ is within every ‘ man:’ and in so saying, I have, by many plain scriptures, proved, that we speak but the truth, and that which is every man’s blessing: and it were well all would prize it, and live up to it. For that is the *gift of God* to men for their salvation, and the *convictions* of it the *day of their visitation*; and though tradition, form, and formality, in many countries, as well as wickedness, have darkened the understandings of people, so that they seem more solicitous about their forms, than zealously obedient to this divine principle; yet there is none without a sense of the reproofs and convictions of it, more or less, at one time or other: which cannot be, without *light*; since all that is *reproved* is made *manifest* by the *light*, Ephes. v. 13. But before I close this subject, I must touch upon his interpretation of some of those texts before cited, p. 58, 59.

He says this passage of the apostle’s, “ Christ in us, “ the hope of glory,” is against me: because it was only to *believers* that he wrote. Grant it; yet why may not Christ be a *condemner* in the consciences of the *wicked*, as well as the *hope of glory* in *believers*? However, it is not against me, since I cited it only to shew the enjoyment of believers: and since he allows *Christ*

to be in believers, I hope his *light* and *spirit* are there with him; which is more than the effects of the perceptive powers of their souls, or outward ministerial help in the business of religion, a thing he has so often denied to any but the holy penmen, and here and there an extraordinary person, that has had the power of miracles, to confirm the truth of their inspiration: "For if he has given us his *Son*, how much more with him shall he give us *all things*?" So that our adversary has herein granted, what he has so often denied and opposed.

The like in that passage of the apostle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. xiii. 15. "Unless Christ be in you, you are reprobates."—"This," says he, "proves, no *reprobates* have Christ in them: how, then, is Christ in *every* man, if he be in none of *these*?" But then, say I, he is in all *but* reprobates, by this man's concession: and we can say no more. For if by reprobates we are to understand a *Judas's* state; a *seared* conscience; one that has absolutely *crucified* to himself afresh the Lord of life and glory, and has sinned the sin against the *Holy Ghost*; in short; an *apostate*, or an *obstinate opposer*, and *perverter* of the right way of the Lord; then, I say, our principle of Christ being, in some sense, in *every* man (viz. as a *light* lightening *every* man) receives no disadvantage from his objection: for therefore *reprobates* have not *Christ*, because they have *finally blown out* the candle, *extinguished* conscience, and are become *dead* to all sense of religion; which is, because they have out-lived the day of God's love and mercy to them: they *would not* be gathered; they would have none of him; they would not have this man to reign over them. But then, *all others*, by this text, and this man's arguing from it, *have* Christ in them; and so it makes greatly for us, since it plainly concludes, "That if all that *have not* Christ in them are *reprobates*, then those that are *not* reprobates *have* Christ in them: but such is *every man* that cometh into the world; therefore, *every man* that cometh into the world, *hath* Christ in him:" for, to be sure,
men

men come not *reprobates* into the world. They have a day of grace; God calls; his Spirit strives; his long-suffering waiteth, as in the days of Noah, for their repentance. And this is that which will give the greatest weight in the scale against the rebellious, at the great judgment, that they had a *talent*; a *seed* was sown; *grace* did appear; and *all bad light*, but such loved darkness rather than light, because their deeds were evil.

The last scripture he would turn upon us, is that in the Galatians; "My little children, of whom I travel in birth again until Christ be formed in you:" upon which he says, 'The persons spoken to *then*, had not *Christ* in them.' Thus does this man walk in a circle, and contradict himself. One time, all but *reprobates* have Christ; another while, the Galatians, though *not* *reprobates*, had him not. But when he considers, that there is a great difference between a *seed* and an *ear*, a *plant* and a *tree*, he may better understand the apostle, and what he now says. For the poor man, after so often allowing Christ to be in the people of God, says, pag. 59. 'But neither in *believers* is Christ a *light* *'within.'* I wonder, then, *what* he is there, since he is the *light* of the *world*, John i. 4, 9. and that *true light* that lighteth *every* man that cometh into the *world*; and yet not to be a *light* within man, though he *be* within man, is surprizing. I shall leave it with my reader, to do our principle justice; and I hope he will find reason to think I have asserted no *errors*, nor *prevaricated* with my friends, nor *lost* my point, nor acted with *leger-de-main*, or *meditated temperament*, to deceive; and that all the *wards* of my *KEY*, after his many strainings, wrestings, and forcings, keep their places, and answer the end for which the *KEY* was first made, viz. 'To open, to every common understanding, the difference between the principles of the *'people called Quakers, and the perversions and misrepresentations of their enemies:'* wishing this adversary, for all his scoffs, scurrility, and abuse upon us and our religion, repentance to salvation.

His Exceptions to our Refusal of OATHS, and his Arguments for them, considered.

PAGE 62. 'To their (the *Quakers*) scruple about
' *Oaths*, I shall only hint these few thoughts: be-
' cause *true speaking* is not only a part of *honesty*, but
' *religion*; therefore not only honesty, but religion, is
' engaged, with its full force, to support itself: but
' if a man engage *all his religion* for the support of a
' *true speech*, he takes an *oath*.'

If this be true arguing, then we *swear* as often as we say *Yea* and *Nay* in evidence; since we acknowledge we stake the credit of our religion and conscience for the verity of it; and then, methinks, there needs no dispute in the matter: for it is certain we *do*, and that swearers can do no more: and since that is our principle, it is as binding on us, as swearing is upon those that give themselves the liberty of swearing. But pray let us hear what follows.

'I shall not,' says he, 'insist upon the nature of an
' *oath*, but consider its place in the *political* state of
' *Christ's kingdom*.'

If he will not insist upon the nature of an oath, I have no reason to insist upon the use or disuse of it at this time; since here it is an argument upon an *individuum vagum*; a nothing. He should first have ascertained us, what an oath *is*; and when that had been adjusted and settled, then he should have proved such an oath *lawful*, and us unreasonable for refusing it upon all accounts. However, I will both observe, and answer, his notions of it.

First, he says, 'He cannot understand how swearing
' can be wholly *put down*, where people may swear by
' *law*, as in England.' True, unless that law be re-
pealed, that requires it. But it is a great bull to say,
That they who *make* a law cannot *repeal* it. If the
legislative power is pleased to make *yea* and *nay* have
the force and acceptance of an *oath*, they may have it
in *any government*; and that is what the people called
Quakers

Quakers desire in *this*, for all of their communion; and to shew him how much he is mistaken, the highest judicature in England sits upon *honour*, and not *oaths*, viz. The *house of lords*: so commissioners of *oyer and terminer*, that judge life, are rarely, if ever, upon *oath*. So that I have herein answered his question, pag. 63. ‘*If an order against all swearing were not, Ipso Jure, void.*’ He carries it higher than any body ever did, that I have met with. It is, with him, the great hinge or axle-tree upon which religion turns; and explodes my reason as false, that I gave for the rise of oaths, viz. Want of faith, either in him that swears, or in him to whom the oath is sworn.

‘For,’ says he, ‘God the *Father* swears to the *Son*, Heb. vii. where there is infinite *faithfulness* on both *sides.*’

But to this I say, That, strictly speaking, God cannot be said to swear; for he that swears, swears by the greater, Heb. vi. 16. So that it is called *swearing*, that it might strike unbelieving man with the greater assurance of God’s *love* to him. And though there was infinite *faithfulness* between God and Christ, yet it referring to *man*, it is termed an *oath*, to heighten and augment man’s *credit* and *confidence* in God, as to the means of his salvation; and not that God did properly swear, or can do so.

But he tells us, ‘That Christ answered upon *adjuration* before a *judge*, which is the way of swearing in our English courts.’

I cannot allow it, since he does not prove that Christ swore in his answer; for all he said was, “Thou hast *said*,” Mat. xxvi. 63. Now that is putting it *back* to the high priest; as if he had said, ‘What need I answer that upon oath, which thou thyself *sayest*? Dost thou first *accuse* me, and then query to confirm it? Thou hast *said*.’ But next, if it be said, ‘That it was an answer usual, and the propriety or peculiarity of that language so to speak,’ he should have proved it: for, as the words are in the scripture, there appears no oath in them: but if it were as he says,

(which I cannot grant) yet it concludes nothing against us; for as he was in the state of a servant, a *Jew* of the *Jews*, made and born under the *law*, Gal. iv. 4. he was to fulfil the *righteousness* of it, and so might act as a *Jew*; as he did in the instance of circumcision, the passover, &c. Yet after his resurrection, we hear nothing of an oath, any more in example than in doctrine; which, with all other customs of the Jews, that, in old time were practised, was, as it were, left with the grave-clothes behind; and he ascended in his evangelical righteousness and glory, triumphing over principalities and powers, and vanquishing hell, death, and the grave, and brought in a better hope, sanctuary, and tabernacle, where *yea* and *nay* succeeded, and superseded all oaths. So that the very basis this man builds upon is unfound, and his premises precarious. How, then, can he build well, or conclude rightly against us? But he says, "The *angels* swear;" which, I conceive, is more than he knows; for no body can think, by his writings, he is very conversant with *good* angels. However, I grant that the angels *have* sworn; but that is no reason to continue oaths among *men*, if Christ, the blessed author of the Christian religion, hath *forbid* them: for the angels, as well as men, must worship *him*, Heb. i. 6. and therefore *Christ* and not the *angels*, are to be followed by *us*: but whenever an angel hath sworn, it hath been in condescension to the incredulity and diffidence of man, and to heighten his credit of the mind and will of God; and is therefore an instance *for* us, because it refers to a low and imperfect state, proposed as an expedient and remedy against untruth; which is out of the question; truth leaving *no* room for swearing; which, in its nature, is but a terrifying of the mind into true speaking; as, in some countries, in default of evidence, they use racks, to extort confessions from the suspected parties: an instance of which we have near us, in the *Scotch boots* and *thummikins*.

He alleges also, 'That the *apostles* swore: but he has not mentioned any one of them, nor any place:
how-

however, that I may not leave *my* reader as much in the dark as he has done *his*, I refer him to my book intitled, “The Spirit of Truth Vindicated,” from page 86, to page 91, where he may see how much softer translations may be given of the apostle’s expressions, than that of our vulgar version. Nevertheless, those extraordinary ways of speaking were in extraordinary cases, and cannot be a rule to others, but under the same circumstances and authority: and till this author has given us an authentick definition of an oath, he cannot justly call the apostle’s expressions *oaths*, or proofs of oaths; unless he will allow that binding any affirmation, or negation, by the name of the Lord, is an oath: but, if that were the case, it differs mightily, to use the name of the Lord to inforce the verity of divine things, and to make it a witness and voucher for us in our low and temporal affairs: a distinction as old as some of the most eminent fathers of the primitive ages of the church.

But he adds, ‘That all Christians take *sacramental oaths*.’ which is not true in fact; for, among the *Protestants* of the *Low Countries*, there is a great people, who, in any case, will not *swear*, as well as we; and yet we know no other name, blood, power, and spirit by which we can be saved, than that of the Lord Jesus Christ. Again, many of the followers of *John Wickliff*, would not *swear* in any case; and divers also of our *English martyrs* refused to *swear*, upon the same principle. And if this man will call to mind, he may remember, that some of the best of the *ancient fathers* were of the same judgment, believing it unlawful for a Christian man to take an oath; which in my “Treatise of Oaths” may be seen at large.

Now, for what he alleges, Why Christ’s prohibition, Mat. v. doth not extend to *all* oaths, I think it will not be hard to shew it is slight, and concludes nothing against us.

First, He says, ‘The expression whereby the particular law is supposed to forbid *all* oaths, does frequently, in the law-books, signify no more than

‘ false oaths, or swearing otherwise amiss; as may be seen by comparing Mat. v. 34. with Levit. v. 1. Eccles. ix. 2. Jer. xxiii. 10. Zech. v. 3. Hof. iv. 2.’ But this is rather against him than for him; since if Christ only forbids what was *not* lawful *before*, his righteousness rises no higher than that of the law of *Moses*. But it is plain from the text, Mat. v. that Christ forbids such swearing as *was* lawful before, and therefore more than the texts before mentioned express.

Secondly, page 64. He limits Christ’s prohibition to those oaths which had no ‘ sacredness in them, but which the Pharisees thought they might make and violate without impiety.’ This also is a mere conjecture, for which he offers us no proof; the contrary being evident, as before; for Christ treated of oaths that were to be *performed* to the Lord: were they not, then, sacred?

But, thirdly, for his third particular, it is as unintelligible as his ‘ *gypsy gibberish*’ in pag. 10, and he must explain it before it can be answerable.

His fourth particular is this, ‘ When he divides this prohibition into its parts, Mat. v. 35, 36. he does not divide it as against swearing in *all* cases, but sets the bounds of his distribution directly to oppose this corrupt gloss of the Pharisees: for he doth not say, “ Ye have heard that it hath been said, ye shall swear in truth, in righteousness, and in judgment:” *but* “ I say unto you, Swear not at all:” for so far as concerned swearing by God, the Pharisees doctrine was sound: but what does Christ say? Why, “ I say unto you, Swear not at all; neither by heaven, nor by earth, or Jerusalem, or the head,” ‘ directly contrary to swearing by the temple, the altar, the heavens, which the Pharisees taught to be lawful to do, and not be bound by such kind of oaths.’ Which, in my opinion, is very weak and gross; for if it be plain, as it is, that Christ forbade such oaths as men ought not to break, but to perform to the Lord, then it was not such oaths as the Pharisees taught

taught to be lawful to take, and not be bound by them when they had done. So that he forbids such oaths, as (he says) 'the Pharisees doctrine was found 'in;' because it was what they ought not to break, but perform to the Lord: so that Christ was so far from limiting his prohibition to the *Pharisees* oaths, by *heaven, earth, Jerusalem,* or the *bead*; which, this man says, they made not obligatory; that he *forbids* them, by forbidding *those* oaths, that, according to the ancient doctrine of the Jewish law, men ought not to *break*, but perform to the Lord; that as every major includes its minor, so Christ, by his prohibition of the use of lawful oaths, includes the prohibition of the practice of unlawful oaths.

Page 67. His fifth allegation is every whit as much beside the matter as what he said before, viz. 'That 'Christ did not condemn swearing by *Jerusalem,* the ' *throne,* the *foot-stool,* &c. *holily,* but as *vainly* and ' *unholily* used;' which is to exceed the bounds of all other writers; so very heartily does this man love swearing. But now I must tell him, that he has much wrested the text, and perverted the plain and obvious sense of it, and mis-represented the mind and doctrine of the Lord Jesus Christ; for it is evident, to every considerate reader, that Christ, in that chapter, was not reproofing what was reproveable under the *law*; nor was he exhorting his auditors and disciples to live up to the righteousness of *it*, which was the way of the prophets, that were under that dispensation; but Christ plainly introduces a *new one*; even the dispensation of the gospel, the righteousness of his kingdom: and that is the difference between them, as in the case of *kill*ing, *adultery,* &c. as well as of *swearing*, Mat. v. 21, 22, 27, 28, 33, 34. "Ye
 " have heard that it was said to them of old time,
 " thou shalt not kill: but I say unto you, that who-
 " soever is angry with his brother without a cause,
 " shall be in danger of the judgment; yea, whosoever
 " shall say, Thou fool, shall be in danger of hell-fire.
 " Ye have heard that it was said by them of old
 " time,

" time, Thou shalt not commit adultery; but I say
 " unto you, That whosoever looketh upon a woman to
 " lust after her, hath committed adultery with her
 " already in his heart." Again, " Ye have heard that
 " it hath been said of old time, Thou shalt not for-
 " swear thyself, but shalt perform thy oaths to the
 " Lord; but I say unto you, Swear not at all." Now
 I would fain know if Christ's prohibition goes no far-
 ther than *Moses's*; and if he does not intend by these
 words, that the righteousness of the gospel should *ex-*
ceed that of the *law*? The parallel runs thus: " Thou
 " shalt not kill, thou shalt not commit adultery,"
 says *Moses*: " Thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not
 " lust," says *Christ*. Now this was no false gloss of
 the Pharisees in that time, which Christ reprehended
 or reformed, as this adversary would suppose; but a
 plain improvement upon the righteousness of the law,
 viz. " Thou shalt not forswear thyself, but shalt per-
 " form to the Lord thine oaths," says *Moses*. " But I
 " say unto you, Swear not at all," says *Christ*; " nei-
 " ther by heaven, for it is God's throne; nor by the
 " earth, for it is his footstool; neither by Jerusalem,
 " nor thy head; but let your communication be yea,
 " yea; nay, nay; for whatsoever is more than these,
 " cometh of evil." Upon which even Beza says,
 ' That by *forswearing*, we are not to understand a
 ' *false* oath; but, that it is best not to swear at *all*:
 ' and that what speech is of an higher nature than
 ' this, is too *much*, and cometh of *evil*:' and Trem-
 mellius, out of Maimonides, says, ' He is the best
 ' man that will upon no account swear.' And the
 annotation upon this place, of a translation, anno
 1599, says, ' Whatever ye vouch, vouch it barely;
 ' and whatsoever ye deny, deny it barely, without
 ' any more words;' that is, let your affirming and
 denying be *simple*, and upon the authority of your own
 word and truth, without going about to bind it by
 the authority of a *greater* and *holier thing*; which is
 not a bare and simple, but a *compounded* speech, and
 so *more* than yea, yea; and nay, nay; and therefore
 cometh

cometh of *evil*. To which that passage of the apostle James aptly refers, James v. 12. "But, above all things, my brethren, swear not, neither by heaven, nor by earth, nor by any *other* oath:" which is to say, 'As by nothing *else*, so not by *God*:' "but let your yea, be yea; and nay, nay; lest ye fall into condemnation."

One would think this man had hardly ever read the Bible, to make oaths so essential a part of the religion and kingdom of *Christ*; when Christ himself makes it a part of the righteousness of his kingdom, *Not to swear at all*. Or is it candid in him, to limit Christ's prohibition to the then false glosses of the Pharisees, when Christ looks over their heads, back to the very *decalogue*, or *ten commandments*, for an instance, to shew, by comparison, how much the righteousness of his kingdom excels that of the law, that came by *Moses*. I could wish there was nothing but weakness to be charged upon this man, in this particular, but his abilities look too considerable elsewhere, for that; as well as his disingenuity too frequent, not to conclude it of a '*meditated temperament*' to force the text, rather than not have his ends upon us: but with what success he has managed it, we must leave to the judicious reader.

H I S

A P P E N D I X

A B O U T

BAPTISM, and the LORD'S SUPPER,
 (so called) considered: And the KEY, with
 the People called QUAKERS, defended against
 his Exceptions in those two Particulars.

OF baptism he writes thus: "Baptism is a rite of admission into the family of God, making persons citizens of heaven, and free of the kingdom of the Messias. It consists of an outward and visible sign, and an inward spiritual grace. These are the two parts of the same baptism, but not two baptisms."

One would think that this man had never read the third of Matthew, or the first of the Acts. For, in the first, *John* distinguishes his baptism from *Christ's*, as plainly as he does his person (viz.) "I, indeed, baptize you with *water* to repentance: but He that cometh after me, is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: He shall baptize you with the *Holy Ghost*, and with *fire*:" which shews their difference in nature, excellency, and efficacy. In the last scripture Christ himself, just before his parting with his disciples, does very expressly and emphatically distinguish betwixt *his own* baptism, and the baptism of *John*: "For," says he, "*John* truly baptized with *water*, but ye shall be baptized with the *Holy Ghost* not many days hence."

I shall

I shall not insist upon the force of this place and context so fully as by and by; yet nothing can well be plainer, than that Christ's words imply *two* baptisms, that the water was *John's*, and the *Holy Ghost* his: and that his intention was to leave that distinction upon the minds of his people, not only that *John's* and *his* were two baptisms, but, 'that water ' was *John's*, and not *his*.' And this too, after all, is granted by our opposer himself, page 89, where he says, ' Can any man believe that Jesus used *John's* ' baptism, and not *his own*, in making of disciples?' But he adds, page 78, ' For neither is the visible part ' alone, or the invisible by itself; but both in union ' by the divine appointment:' but where this divine appointment is, he does not tell us. Again, page 87. ' *John* did the *outward* part, and *Jesus* the *inward* ' part the same moment.' But, surely, he is mistaken, when *John* tells us, the baptism of the Holy Ghost was to come *after*, not to go *along with*, his: and Christ told his disciples, " That it was *to come*," (so that his and *John's* went not together); and bid them " stay at Jerusalem till they *received* it," viz. " The promise of the Father;" which was, " the " pouring-forth of the *Holy Ghost*;" as the first chapter of the Acts informs us: and that was nigh three years after they had been baptized, and baptized others, with *water*: so that both did not go together, as this man dreams.

But he proceeds, page 80. ' For *John* admitted men ' into the faith of the *Messias*; that is, into the state ' of subjects, owning, and acknowledging, allegiance ' to Christ. And Christ owns this grant and admission ' valid in his kingdom, and that they were legally ' instated in the rights of his kingdom, whom *John* ' baptized: this being done by a publick authorized ' herald of his kingdom.'

But it is strange that *John* had the power to admit men into the *faith* of him, when, at first, he sent his disciples to him, " To know if *he* were the *Messiah*," or " they were to look for *another*." This is to give
 John

John the keys of David, and to make regeneration an absolute and necessary adjunct, or concomitant, of his water-baptism. But those baptized by *John's* baptism, were so far from being admitted into the state of subjects, and enjoying the rights of Christ's kingdom, that in Acts xviii. *Apollos* is said "to know only *John's* baptism." And chap. xix. Certain disciples to *John's* baptism, declared to Paul, "they had not so much as *heard* if there were any such thing as the Holy Ghost;" so that when Paul asked them, "To what, then, were you baptized?" They answered, "To *John's* baptism," by way of distinction from Christ's. And the apostle's question led them to that answer, being founded upon a distinction between the baptism of *John*, and that of *Christ*. And lastly, I must take leave to wonder how he can think to word upon us so great an untruth; as that of 'Christ's own-
'ing an admission into his kingdom by *John's* baptism, and that such are legally instated in the rights thereof, because they were baptized of *John*,' when Christ himself says, "That the least in the kingdom of God, is greater than John;" which implies, that *John* himself was not of that kingdom: and because that cannot be understood of the *person*, or *soul* of John, (for so he was certainly a glorious subject of it) it must refer to his *administration*, which, he himself tells us, also "must *decrease*, and Christ's *increase*." Besides, Christ told Nicodemus, "That unless a man be born again, he cannot *see* the kingdom of God:" how then, is he a subject, and invested in the rights of that kingdom? Again, Did *John's* baptism regenerate? If it did, what need of *fire* and *Holy Ghost*; that John said was to come after? What need of any thing after *John's*, if it was so effectual, or was he always attended with such a power as is affirmed? Where, now, is our adversary's haughty assertion, 'That John's disciples, as such, were the subjects of Christ's kingdom, and legally invested in the rights thereof,' when it is plain, that the least of that kingdom is greater than their very baptizer, the great be-
rard

rald of the kingdom? But that expression itself gives away the cause, being well considered; for the *forerunner ends* in *Him be foreruns*; and the *herald* in the presence of the *King*. He has forgot, sure, who it was that said, or that it was ever said, "The *prophets* "lasted till *John*," and he ended *them*, but he did not *begin* the *Christian dispensation*; that was *Christ's* work. *John's* baptism left men in that old world of *Jewish rites*, where it found them; but it is *Christ's* "that makes all things new;" *new heavens, new earth*, and *new creatures*, to *inherit* them.

But says this author, 'Christ declares, that being baptized with *water*, was a part of righteousness: which it could not be, unless there was a law of the kingdom for it.' As if it might not be righteousness without such a law: for, with his favour, there is as much to be said for Christ's *circumcision*, and eating the *paschal lamb*, &c. since that was to *fulfil* all righteousness too; and yet there was no law of the kingdom of Christ for them, unless this be one, 'That Christ was to fulfil the righteousness of the law,' which he did in general, to introduce the kingdom of God. For Christ's *fulfilling* of the law and the prophets, of which *John* was the *last*, made way for the kingdom to come, which was not of *this* world, nor are its rights, by consequence; but, of its own nature. That Christ *did* fulfil all righteousness, in condescending and conforming to divers rites, is so far from ratifying, or confirming the practice of them, as this man suggests, that it discharges and *abolishes* them. This appears very plain, in that Christ's *performing* of the rites of the law, was in order to *end* them, being *made under the law* for that very *purpose*. So that *his* being baptized by John, does not establish, or any more confirm that *baptism*, than his being circumcised after *Moses* does perpetuate *circumcision*. On the contrary, it rather *ends* John's baptism, *Moses* and the *prophets* were until *John*, and John was till *Christ*; both had their times, and both their periods in *Him*.

" I am

“ I am not He,” says *John*; but “ *John*’s baptism is it,” says this opponent, which is to put *John*’s baptism in the room of *Christ*’s; and *John*’s ministry, though not his person, in lieu of *Christ*’s. Now *Moses* and the *prophets* were as the *stars* of the *night*; *John* as the *morning star*, the forerunner of the day. He rose *last*, but shined *most*: but though the morning star be the most burning and shining of all the celestial lights, and next to the rising of the sun himself, yet his time is shortest, his light is soon swallowed up of the sun.

Page 81. But this man tells us, ‘ That Christ gave a commission to his disciples to baptize with water, Mat. xxviii. 19. And that they did understand it so by their practice.’ But is it practicable or possible, that any scripture can reasonably be said to declare an institution, or be the commission, of any thing which it does not express? Now in that text there is not a word of *water*; how then is water-baptism instituted by it? I cannot help wondering, and this man must allow it me, that the only text to prove the commission of so celebrated a practice in our times, should not declare a word of it. But I shall next shew, notwithstanding he produces following practice, to prove Christ meant, and his disciples understood it so, that the text means it no more than it expresses it; and that Christ, that gave that commission, never intended it to refer to water. This is the text, “ Go ye, teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, the Son, and Holy Ghost,” Mat. xxviii. 19. Now Christ, by this commission, must mean his *own* baptism of the *Spirit*, and that from the nature and force of the words, as well as comparison of them with other places to which they relate, and that are also lately explanatory of them. The words are not *in* the name, but *into* the name of the Father, &c. Which must refer to the *power* and *Spirit* of Christ; *water* being too feeble to *change* and *wash* a *heart*, which is the import of baptizing into the *name*, or *nature*, of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost: that
is,

is, by the ministry which is from the *Spirit*. So Mark xvi. where Christ says, "They shall cast out devils *in my name*;" that is, by my *power*, or by the virtue or force of my *Spirit*, which shall attend you for that work and service, that many may be turned from the evil of their ways, and made heirs of an endless kingdom.

In fine, after you have received the *Spirit*, you shall teach and baptize, or dip, plunge, and interest them that believe, into the name and power of God, unto holiness, righteousness, mercy, truth, &c. Qualifying them to bear the holy and excellent name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.

And that this is not strained, but natural, and no *allegory* upon the text, I shall desire my reader to look forward, to the first of the Acts, and the first nine verses; which plainly expounds this commission, and consequently resolves us what baptism it refers to; particularly the 4th, 5th, 8th, and 9th verses, viz. "And being assembled together with them, he commanded them that they should not depart from Jerusalem, but wait for the promise of the Father, which, saith he, ye have heard of me. For *John* truly baptized with *water*; but *ye* shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost, not many days hence. But ye shall receive power, *after* that the Holy Ghost is come upon you: and ye shall be witnesses unto me, both in Jerusalem, and in all Judea, and in Samaria, and unto the uttermost parts of the earth. And when he had spoken these things, while they beheld, he was taken up, and a cloud received him out of their sight."

In which three things are observable: first, that Christ *distinguishes* his baptism from *John's*.

Secondly, That he assigns *water* to *John's*, and the *Holy Ghost* to *his own* baptism. Not that John and he had *two water-baptisms*, yet *two baptisms*; but that *John's* was the water-baptism, and *his* the baptism of the Holy Ghost. Therefore his is *not* a water-baptism, but a baptism *contradistinguished* from that of water,

as much as the person of John was from the person of Christ.

Thirdly, by comparing the 28th of Matthew with this place in the Acts, we may see that the commission in one, is to be construed by the qualification in the other, which is not expressed at all in Mat. xxviii. There they are bid *to go*; here they are bid *to stay*; that is, ‘Stay before you go, and have your qualifications before you qualify;’ viz. *the promise of the Father, to wit, the baptism of the Holy Ghost*; that is to say, *Power from on high*. Why, had they been preaching two or three years, and been baptized, and baptizing, with water, which this man says, ‘is followed, *that moment, with the baptism of the Holy Ghost*,’ and yet had not been themselves baptized with it, nor as yet received power from on high to *disciple and baptize* any into Christ’s kingdom, with *Christ’s baptism*?

This must be strange to our opponent, and who can help it? But so it is, reader. For that as one *evangelist*, and one part of scripture, supplies and explains another, this in the *Acts* shews, that the commission in *Matthew* supposes the qualification, mentioned in the first of the *Acts*, to precede it; else they were to go, before they were qualified to perform.

If, then, it is rational to suppose, that what passed at Christ’s farewell, as rehearsed by the evangelists, should be all laid together, for our more plain and complete understanding of the import of it, we must needs conclude, that the disciples were to stay at Jerusalem, till they had received the promise of the Father; that is, till they were *baptized with the Holy Ghost*; and *then* the commission took place, for them to “Go
“ and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name
“ of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost.”

Now then, if in order of time, and from the nature of the discourse, it must be so, how is the baptism in *Matthew* a *water-baptism*? “*John* truly baptized with
“ *water*, but ye shall be baptized with the *Holy Ghost*
“ not many days hence:” *then* “Go ye, teach all
“ nations,

“ nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, “ Son, and Holy Ghost,” &c. It is plain, this is the true order of the discourse, not only from what I have already said, as to qualification *preceding* commission (for they needed no such to baptize with *water*, having done that two or three years before, without it) but for that baptizing stands *alone* in Mat. xxviii. 19. which would have been ambiguous, had not that passage in *Acts* i. 5. preceded, which made it needless to tell us what *sort* of baptism they were to baptize with, and what they were *not*; “ For *John* “ truly baptized with *water*, but *ye* shall be baptized “ with the *Holy Ghost* not many days hence:” ‘ There-
 ‘ fore not with *John’s* baptism *any more*, but with the
 ‘ baptism of the *Spirit*, do you go teach all nations,
 ‘ baptizing them, through the Holy Spirit, into the
 ‘ name of the Father, of the Son, and Holy Ghost:
 ‘ make them *true Jews, true Israelites*, in whom there
 ‘ is no guile.’ And it is certain it was a new scene
 and part they had to act; as much superior to what
 was before, as power is to form, spirit to letter, sub-
 stance to shadow. “ Greater things than these shall
 “ ye do,” said our blessed Lord, “ because I go to
 “ my Father.” I think I have not strained the text,
 or extorted a wrong meaning. I write what I believe,
 and take to be, the genuine sense of the place, with-
 out partiality, or passion.

But our adversary will have it, that the apostles used *water-baptism* in pursuance of this commission; and instances the words of Peter, in the case of Cornelius, for proof thereof. The words are these, “ Can any
 “ man forbid water, that these should not be baptized,
 “ which have received the Holy Ghost, as well as
 “ we?” Upon which says our opponent, pag. 82.
 ‘ If it had not been an ordinance, any one might have
 ‘ forbid it; therefore the apostles accounted them-
 ‘ selves obliged by God to do so; and that it was
 ‘ not in their power to refuse it, unless they would
 ‘ resist God.’ To which I say, as before: first, that
 water-baptism was *John’s*, and not Christ’s. Secondly,
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that *practice* is no *institution*. Thirdly, that the apostle Peter did but continue a practice introduced by *John*, not easily left among a ceremonious people; it having obtained reputation among them, and was the discriminating sign, or mark, of a change of dispensation at hand; and this Peter could not but know, after those distinguishing and emphatical words of his Lord and Master, Acts i. But the disciples having before been actually engaged in the practice of John's baptism, in order to call people to the expectation of a farther thing, continued it afterwards; not of authority, but in their Christian liberty and condescension, as what had a reference to the Christian dispensation; inasmuch as John, whose ministry concluded the prophets, became herein the forerunner of Christ, "whose kingdom," John said, "was at hand," and the more excellent dispensation thereof. Lastly, the reason of Peter's words, "Can any man forbid water," &c. referred not to the institution, authority, or force of water-baptism, but to Peter's caution about Cornelius, that was a *Gentile*, for fear he should give any publick distaste to the *Jews*, whose prejudices against the *Gentiles*, like some Predestinarians of our times, excluded them any pretence to religion; inasmuch that we see Peter himself, without a vision, was not yet large enough in his spirit, to credit Cornelius's convictions and devotion; as much as if he had said, 'Why may not this man, though a *Gentile*, be
' baptized with water, since he has received the *Holy*
' *Ghost*, which is the requisite qualification of a *true*
' *Christian*; and that the promise of the Father is to
' them that are afar off, even to all that the Lord our
' God shall call, as well as to the seed of Abraham,
' after the flesh?' So that the reason of Peter's using those words, was not to give authority to water-baptism, as an ordinance of Christ's kingdom, but to excuse himself against *Jewish exceptions*, that he feared would be scandalized at his owning of a *Gentile*, which, to them, was unclean, profane, and reprobate.

His

His other scripture in defence of what he asserts, is Acts ix. 18. which says, "That Paul received his sight, and was baptized by Ananias." But not a word of *water* is in the text, or in the foregoing or following verses. On the contrary, there is reason to believe it was not meant. "And Ananias putting his hands on him, said, Brother Saul, the Lord, (even Jesus that appeared unto thee in the way as thou camest) hath sent me, that thou mayest receive thy sight, and be filled with the Holy Ghost: and immediately there fell from his eyes, as it had been scales, and he received his sight forthwith, and arose, and was baptized." Now here is, first, sight, and Holy Ghost, to be given to Saul, by the ministry of Ananias: next, he received *sight*, and was *baptized*. Now must not this be the baptism of the *Holy Ghost*? since, "being filled with the Holy Ghost," and "being baptized," are, by the text, made *one* and the *same thing*? especially, since it is past all controversy, that there was such a thing as the baptism of the Holy Ghost.

His other scripture, to prove the authority of water-baptism among Christians, is, Acts xi. 15, 16, 17. "And as I began to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them, as on us, at the beginning. Then remembered I the word of the Lord, how that he said, John indeed baptized with *water*; but you shall be baptized with the *Holy Ghost*. Forasmuch, then, as God gave them the like gift, as he did unto us, who believed on the Lord Jesus-Christ, what was I that I could resist God?"

Which is so far from weakening, that it confirms, our sense and assertion: for the bent of Peter's words is to justify himself, in going to, and communing with, the *uncircumcision*, and not to vindicate water-baptism. And that which he offered in his own vindication to his brethren, was, 1. His vision. 2. Cornelius's righteousness and devotion. And, 3. God's *owning* of him, in that the Holy Ghost fell upon *him*, as it had upon *them* in the beginning. "Forasmuch, then," says Peter, "as God gave them the like gift, what was I,

“ that I could withstand God ?” As if he had said, ‘ How could I refuse to own them, and have fellowship with them, that *God* owned, and had fellowship with, and gifted and sanctified, as well as the believing *Jews* ?’ Speaking not one word, in his account to the brethren, of *water-baptism* : but, on the contrary, he makes it *John’s*, by way of distinction from *Christ’s* baptism, by remembering, and repeating, the words of his Lord and Master, viz. “ *John* indeed baptized with *water*, but ye shall be baptized with the *Holy Ghost*.” I appeal to every indifferent reader, if I have not done justice to the text.

I shall next consider his exceptions to what I say in my *KEY*, in defence of our disuse, or cessation, of *water-baptism*, &c.

Page 83, 84. The first reason he makes me give for it, is, ‘ That all Protestants are against figures and shadows.’ To which he answers, ‘ But *baptism*, and the *Lord’s supper*, being no figures nor shadows, all Protestants are for them; unless the *Quakers* are to be accounted Protestants, that disown all Protestant churches, and are owned by none.’

This is all he quotes of mine; and this is what he says, on what he has quoted: so that they *may be* of the nature of shadows and figures, for all him; and, consequently, Protestants practise against judgment. For he *only* denies them to be figures and shadows, and leaves us there. But he had done well, if he had given us his reasons, and had also taken notice of what I say, page 22 in my *KEY*, which immediately foregoes what he has cited out of it; viz. ‘ That *practice* only is no *institution* ;’ and that is all he can allege in favour of *John’s* baptism. That which seems my part to perform, though he presses it not upon me, is to shew, That *water-baptism*, and the *Lord’s supper* (so called) are of the nature of *figures* and *shadows*, of which *Christ* was the *substance*.

Now, that they are so, we must consider, That if *Christ* was the *END* of *John*; (as John renders him, Mat.

Mat. iii. 11. John iii. 30. and Christ himself suggests to us, Mat. xi. 7 to 12.) then *water-baptism* was but a *forerunner*, and shewed forth what was to come, “that which the least in the kingdom of heaven exceeded,” and therefore not of the kingdom; and, consequently, no longer of force in point of institution. Though, by being the *observation* peculiar to *John’s* ministry, it had obtained credit, and therefore was continued, *ex gratiâ*. But it is plain, from Christ’s own words, “The kingdom of God came not with *observation*,” Luke xvii. 20. At least, therefore, Protestants ought to be modest upon us, with respect to the reason we render for our *cessation* of *water-baptism*. And though he says, ‘We ought not to be accounted *Protestants*, that disown all Protestant churches, and are owned by none of them:’ I would have this author to know, we are *true Protestants*: Protestants upon those reasons, that were the *first motives* to that *character*; and can compare, in our *negatives*, with any species of *Protestants*. And do challenge this author, without vanity, upon that head, begin when he will.

At the same time, we cannot but have charity for the *persons* of *Roman Catholics*, and would, by that, teach them the truth and greater excellency of our religion.

And next, ‘for our *disowning* of all other Protestant churches, and not being *owned* by them;’ First, It is not upon the *same grounds* that the *Roman Catholics* disown them: and, secondly, experience tells us, it is what *all sects* of Protestants do to *one another*; and therefore not so singular in us, as is suggested by this ill-willing author.

But, he is mightily displeas’d with me, ‘For being against all *figures* in the time of the *gospel*,’ adding, ‘that we, mortals, cannot think, or speak, or work without figures;’ distinguishing between ‘*pre-nunciative* and *commemorative* signs:’ ridiculing me for such an assertion. But if my reader will turn to page 24. of my *KEY*, cited by this author, he will find, I *only* deny, under the *gospel*, the *necessity* and *servico* of *pre-nunciative* or *forerunning* signs; joining to signs,

figures and shadows; and promiscuously using them to one and the same purpose, and therefore not *all* signs, but signs of something *to come*, and to be *accomplished* by the *coming* thereof; as the following words, he makes another quibble upon, plainly shew; viz. ‘That the nature of the *gospel* is *inward, spiritual, and eternal.*’ But he leaves out, ‘That therefore the continuing to practise figures, signs and shadows, as still in force, (which *forerun* Christ and his dispensation) make his *coming* of none *effect.*’ For then he had given too strong a reason for our disuse, and disappointed himself of the unfair advantage he endeavours to gain upon me, by letting his reader see that I did not deny the continuance of *all* signs, but *preunciative* or *forerunning* ones; such as are of the nature of *figures and shadows*, and therefore can have no commission to *perpetuate* them; of which I take *water-baptism* and the *supper* to be two. For *Christ*, as well as *John*, declares water baptism a *forerunner* of a more *excellent* baptism. And one thing wherein that excellency of Christ’s baptism consists, is the *durableness* of it: but if John’s is to last as *long* as Christ’s, Christ’s does not excel John’s in *duration*; quite contrary to John’s own discrimination and testimony, viz. “He (*Christ*) shall *increase*, and I *decrease.*”

But if it be considered, that this adversary would make me deny *all* signs, as Exodus vii. 8, 9. Numb. xi. Psalm lxxvii. Jer. xxxii. (just as his friend J. Faldo, and some of that ingenuity, have made us to deny all scripture commands, because some of us have said, (in *temporary* and *extraordinary* cases, as that of *Jeremiah, Jonas, Amos, &c.*) ‘That which is a command to *another*, is no command to *us*, unless the same spirit *require* the same, or the *like* thing of *us*,’ therefore the moral law, or decalogue, is no law or command to us, nor are we obliged to yield obedience to it, (though it be general and perpetual); I say, they that consider the justice of my parallel, and injustice of his insinuation, will perceive he is not a
fair

fair enemy, nor ought to have credit with his reader, to our prejudice.

I am, then, no more against *figures*, than against *forms*. We cannot, I know, live, speak, or act without them: but these are not *forerunning* signs or forms, *temporary* and *shadowy* observations; but such *necessary* and *essential* ones, as are coupled to our very being, and requisite converse among men.

But from this he falls hard upon me, because I say, The gospel is *inward*, *spiritual*, and *eternal*: 'For,' says he, 'without many figures, this is not sense; and with them, is either not true, or not to the purpose. The gospel, being the new covenant, is neither inward nor outward. Will W. P. never leave talking of inside and outside of things that have *no sides*?' This language, I doubt not, will sound harsh, as well as light, to other people's ears, as well as ours: and truly he is a daring and adventurous person; for till now, I thought *truth* had an *inside*: if he had read the 31st of Jeremiah, he would have found there, that the gospel is an *inward* state, and has an inside; where God, speaking by that prophet of the gospel, or new covenant time, says, "Behold, the days come that I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah: not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt (which my covenant they brake, although I was an husband unto them, saith the Lord): but this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel; after those days, saith the Lord, I will put my law in their *inward* parts, and write it in their *hearts*, and will be their God, and they shall be my people. And they shall teach no more every man his neighbour, and every man his brother, saying, Know the Lord: for they shall *all* know me, from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord: for I will forgive their iniquity, and I will remember their sin no more." Now here is truth with *both* its sides: truth in its *outward*

ward appearance, according to the low and carnal state of man: and this may be called, comparatively, the *out-side* of truth. Here, also, we may learn, that truth has an *inside*; a more spiritual and eternal part; and that is what I call the *gospel-dispensation*: or, that this more inward and spiritual appearance of the truth, is the new covenant, or gospel. What else did our Lord Jesus intend by the *gospel of the kingdom*, than the blessing of the *power of God*, to deliver man from the power of sin and satan, the original of it? So the apostle phrases it, "The gospel is the power of God to salvation." That is, the power of the kingdom of God, and that is the gospel of the kingdom. Now if this be not of an inward, spiritual, and eternal nature, nothing can be: which, I presume, the reader will, with me, think an absurd, as well as unchristian conclusion.

But he says, 'It is partly *inward* and partly *outward*.' I say, It is *inward*, but it may be outwardly *expressed* by a godly conversation; and so far, and no otherwise, it may be said to be *outward*. Nor does this weaken my assertion, or the consequence I have observed from it; viz. That the gospel, and new covenant, came not with *outward observations*; and that *water-baptism* was such; therefore no ordinance of the kingdom of the Messiah.

But if it be an ordinance, as this author says, p. 87, and that the inward part *keeps time* with the outward (for there he allows of *inside* and *outside*) then it would do so to as many as have the outward part administered to them: but we have no evidence of such concurrence of the Holy Ghost. We have never found it in ourselves, nor do we see it in others, that are in the practice of it, but much the contrary; in that envy, pride, luxury, and covetousness prevail, and little of the true cross of Christ, self-denial, dying daily, or the new creature appears: how, then, does the inward grace make up but one baptism, if it accompany not *water*? But of that I have already treated before; and, it is plain, it is but *gratis dictum* on our adversary's side. He begs the question.

Lastly,

Lastly, page 90. finding himself a-ground about the passage of the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. i. 7. "For Christ sent me not to *baptize*, but to *preach* the *gospel*;" he endeavours to gloss away its force, what he can, from the end for which I cited it, and the apostle writ it. The first thing he opposes is, 'That since water-baptism was *Peter's* and his brethren's commission, which Christ gave them before his ascension, to the end of the world—it is not to be imagined that Matthias and Paul were without it.' But in this also he begs the question.

I have already shewed that commission is mistaken by him, and that *water* is no ways concerned in that text; and that water-baptism was *John's*, and not *Christ's*; and that they were not *one* baptism, or inseparable in their administration. Also, that *practice* is no *institution*; and that water-baptism is a *preunciative* sign, and has its *accomplishment* in that baptism of the Holy Ghost, as *John* had in *Christ*; the *two administrators* of the *two baptisms*.

But next, he says, 'Paul spoke an ellipsis, elegantly; meaning, that he was not sent *only* to baptize, but chiefly to *preach*;' citing two or three scriptures, that he imagines parallel, and illustrating that place, as Hof. vi. 6. "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice." And; "Let women adorn themselves, not with putting on apparel," &c. 1 Pet. iii. 3. 'Now,' says he, 'These places prove, that the Israelites were not to sacrifice to God, and women must go naked, &c. (as some Quakers did) with the same evidence that Paul's words teach, That Christ sent him not to baptize.' He might, if he had pleased, have cut it all short, and (like what L. Muggleton once said of Moses) have told us, Paul did not *mean* what he *writ*. But these places are ill applied by this man; for when God said, "He would have mercy, and not sacrifice," he meant not to have *sacrifice* at that time, and in those cases, wherein he called for *mercy*. He would not be so put off, nor have duties *exchanged*: that speech is limited to, and to be interpreted by, the present state of the

the people he spoke to, who were unqualified for sacrifice, because they were unmerciful and cruel; and the merciful God, in that state, would have none of their sacrifices. What is this to the apostle's words about baptism, that denies it *any part* in his commission? There is no parallel in the case; but if any, it is for us, rather than against us: for that of not putting on of apparel, it is evident, for so the apostle intended by ἡ ἐνδύσεως ἱματίων κόσμου, as the words themselves plainly import, viz. garments of *finery* and *ornament*, and not useful clothing. So that the apostle meant what he said, in the use of the word; for such apparel is not to be ever used by true Christians.

For his saying, 'That some of our women have gone naked;' it is affirmed with lightness; though some few of our friends have gone naked, for a sign to this generation, in token of God's *stripping* some persecutors of their power, and in particular that generation of the clergy, that preceded the restoration; which, having risen through persecution, forgot their pleas, when they had power, towards those that dissented from them; and testified against the same evils in them, that they had justly inveighed against in the former bishops days. And now he may see we are not against all SIGNS.

To conclude: It is plain the apostle had no obligation upon him to this expression, from a comparison any had made between water-baptism and the preaching of the gospel. Nor does he use any, though this man makes him to do so, to justify his imagined elegancy. The occasion of this expression, the text shews, was the vanity of some disciples, that were comparing and boasting of their *baptizers*; not a word of baptism itself, to over or undervalue that tradition. Why, then, does Paul take occasion, not only to strike at them, but *baptism* too? What had baptism done, to be so coarsely treated? 'So sacred an institution; the very rite or door of admission (says this man) into the kingdom of the Messiah,' p. 80. Why, without doubt, it was to let them see, that they had so little cause to boast of
their

their respective *baptizers*, (for, “ who is *Paul*, and who “ is *Apollos?*”) that they ought not to value themselves upon that very *baptism*, since it was not what he had in *commission*, but what he had used as a *tradition*, that had obtained some credit among them: else, the apostle must not have had the *same* commission that the other apostles had; who yet said, “ he was behind none of “ the rest of the apostles.”

Again, Baptizing, in Mat. xxviii. 19. was as much the apostle’s commission as teaching or preaching: nay, the preferable part. For though preaching opened their understandings, it was *baptism* that gave them admission into the kingdom of the Messiah; made them subjects thereof; and instated them in the rights of it: yea, the seal of the covenant that God made by Christ with mankind, without which no remission of sins, or entering of God’s kingdom. Can *such* a baptism (and such an one this adversary renders *water-baptism*) be no essential part of Paul’s commission, or not upon equal terms with teaching, when by it people are to be interested in the sacred name of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost; that is, to be made, qualified, admitted, and sealed, True Christians, subjects of Christ’s kingdom, citizens of heaven, and endowed with all the privileges thereof. How *little* is this man willing to allow baptism to be, that he may keep it any thing in force, and excuse it from the general sense of the apostle’s words? Were there as much difference between preaching and baptism, as between mercy and sacrifice, it might have helped him better. But inasmuch as the apostle denies *water-baptism* to be in his commission, and that it is certain he had the same commission the rest had, whatever was his practice, in condescension (as in circumcising of Timothy) *that* baptism that is indeed *in* Christ’s commission, Mat. xxviii. must be the baptism of the *Holy Ghost*. And this is the less to be doubted, since the same apostle, that denies *water-baptism* any place in his commission (which he could never, if an *ordinance of Christ*, and the *rite of admission* into the kingdom of the *Messiah*) makes *baptism* an article in his *epitome of Christi-*

Christianity, viz. That there is (Eph. iv. 5, 6.) “ One Lord, one faith, one baptism: one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all.” This baptism being therefore essential, must be that of his commission, and consequently the baptism of the *Holy Ghost*, Acts i. 15.

But, after all, I know not what right this man has to argue upon the head of *water-baptism* against us; since, if I mistake him not, he is of those that make *children* the subjects of that practice, who cannot *believe*; nor be *taught*, in order to it; and therefore, not within the scope and direction of the text. If it should be said, ‘ That children may be as well *baptized* as *circumcised*;’ I say, no: for *faith* was not so personally required to circumcision, as it is to baptism: nor are the *covenants*, or *kingdoms* the same, to which they refer; therefore an improper and unjust allusion. Upon the whole matter, we let fall the baptism of water, as *John’s*, and not *Christ’s*; therefore, not in contempt of a Christian ordinance, the Lord knows, but in honour of the Christian dispensation: and the rather, because of the great abuse of it; both *sprinklers* and *dippers*, laying, as we apprehend, a dangerous *stress* upon it: as indeed they do upon the use of the *Lord’s-supper*; far beyond *signs*, and as if they were the inward *graces* themselves; too often referring thither, rather than to the *obedience* of *faith* in *Christ*; and falsely quieting their uneasy minds under disobedience, and neglect of the cross of Jesus, with the performance of these outward *signs* of inward *graces*; the generality of them being but too barren of any *true* sign of the power of grace upon them.

But to that little he has said about the Lord’s-Supper, so called, I must say something before I close this treatise. He tells us,

Page 92. ‘ The same, in substance, may be said of ‘ the *Lord’s-Supper* as of baptism.’

Reply. Then the same, in substance, may serve in defence of the other. He adds,

‘ *Christ*

‘ Christ celebrates it with his disciples, signifying,
 ‘ That his meaning was, they should perform this ser-
 ‘ vice at other times, after his death, by constraining
 ‘ them to do it in remembrance of him; which is a
 ‘ full institution of this service.’

Reply. That which Christ celebrated, was the *pas-
 chal lamb*, or *passover*, which he told his disciples, “ he
 “ so much longed to eat with them.” And this was
 the Jews great *anniversary supper*, in commemoration
 of their fore-fathers mighty deliverance from *Pharoah*,
 and passing at night out of *Egypt*, towards the land
 that God had promised their father Abraham he would
 give to his off-spring. And it was also the conclusion
 or winding up of the course of our Saviour’s life; the
 fulfilling of the shadowy ordinances and ministrations he
 was born under (he being the *antitype*); at the close of
 which he was graciously pleased to intimate to them
 that unwelcome and uneasy news of his departure and
 death, by bidding them eat that bread, and drink that
 cup, and so do the like, as a “ *Memorial*, or in re-
 “ *membrance* of him.” viz. his *Death*, “ until he came
 “ to them again.”

He did thereby,

I. Inform them of his departure and death, by giving
 them a memorial of him; which was so hard for them
 to think of.

II. He tells them, That he will not leave them com-
 fortless; he will come to them again; and he will
 drink new wine with them in the kingdom of his
 Father; which, in its due season, should be made mani-
 fest to them.

III. That they were to look to that coming, as an
 accomplishment of that memorial.

IV. That this must refer to his spiritual coming, as
 the bread of life; and that it was only to hold them
 up in their minority, whose weakness, incredulity, and
 doubting, were well known to him, and which, Luke
 xxiv. 11, 25. are enough observed; even after all they
 had heard and seen of the power of Christ.

That

That this practice lasted longer, I grant; but that it lasted of authority, I find not, but rather of weakness: signs generally have a resemblance of the things they signify or represent: there seems none, in any other respect, to me so proper and suitable, as of Christ being the "Bread that came down from heaven," John vi. and as such he came to his disciples some time after his ascension; for as yet they were, as before observed, in several respects weak, yea, carnal, and to be stirred up and instructed in sacred mysteries, by outward and sensible things.

Page 93. As to what this author says, 'That the apostle Paul had a commission to administer this sacrament,' 1 Cor. xi. to 26. It is his mistake; for it was not a commission, but a *tradition*. He tells us what he *received* of the Lord's doings; but neither commands nor recommends it, only reproves indecency, and requires more respect in performing, "as often as they do it." But if that chapter be well read, the poor and mean condition of the people he writ to will be seen; to whom signs, well understood, might be of benefit. But that neither proves their continuance under the new covenant, nor their service to those that were come to discern well the Lord's body; what it is, and what it is made of; as chapter x. 15, 16, 17.

Page 94, 95. But our adversary will have it, 'That Christ's coming, is to judgment, at the end of all things; and until then, this sacrament, as he calls it, is to continue:' telling me, That when Christ said, he would not drink any more of the fruit of the vine, till he should drink it new, with them, in the kingdom of his Father, Christ indeed means it of a spiritual wine; but that the kingdom of his Father was heaven; and therefore the sign was to cease, till that kingdom began; which was not to be, till Christ had delivered up the kingdom unto God, even his Father, at the end of the world.'

Reply. But he has forgot, surely, that in the same page he allows the kingdom of God was then among the
Jews,

Jews, though not *in* them; and so come *before* the end of the world. And if he would have called to mind the first sentence of John the Baptist's sermon, and the drift of the disciples ministry, that Christ sent forth, he must have found that it was, "Repent, for the kingdom of God, *or* of heaven, is *at hand*." as Mat. iii, 2. chap. x. 7. Then, not so far off as the end of the world. Again, the apostle declared, Heb. xii. 22, 23, 24. the true believers of his day were "come to Mount Zion, to God, the judge of all, and to the spirits of the just made perfect;" and also, that they "sat in heavenly places in Christ Jesus;" which must be an attainment above signs of invisible grace; being the life and substance of religion, and so the period and consummation of types, shadows, and such sort of signs or significations as are in question. They that *personally* enjoy their dearest friends will not repair to their *pictures*, (though drawn ever so much to the life) to quicken their remembrance of them.

Christ did promise his, That he would *come again*, he would not leave them *comfortless*, and that he would drink of the cup or fruit of the vine after a *new*, or *other* manner with them, even "in the kingdom of his Father." And in the Revelations, chap. iii. he makes an holy proclamation, as it were with an Oyez! "Behold," says he, "I stand at the door and knock; if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and SUP with him, and he with me." This, we are not ashamed to say, is our supper, or the supper of the risen and glorified Jesus, which the people called Quakers do acknowledge, profess and practise as the *Lord's-supper*; the true gospel, new covenant supper: the supper of and *in* the *kingdom of God*; which is come up in thousands, blessed be his name! and is coming more and more, among, and in the hearts of, the children of men. And though the seed of this kingdom be sown in *all*; yet the *good* ground alone knows it to grow to advantage. Those that *obey* the manifestation of the *light* of the Lord Jesus in their souls, the "seed of the kingdom," are the

the true and sensible witnesses of it: the government of their hearts and affections being upon his shoulders, according to that blessed promise, *Isaiah ix. 5, 6, 7.* And such can say, "Thy kingdom is come, and thy will is done in earth, as it is in heaven."

Even so come, Lord Jesus! more and more set up thy kingdom in the souls of the children of men; that the holy will of thy Father may be done in earth; that mercy and truth, righteousness and peace, may embrace and kiss each other; so shall the kingdoms of this world become the kingdoms of the Lord, and of his Christ; who is God over all blessed for ever.

S O M E

S O M E
F R U I T S
O F
S O L I T U D E,
I N
REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS
RELATING TO THE
CONDUCT OF HUMAN LIFE.

I N T W O P A R T S.

Published in the Year 1693.

Vol. V.

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T H E
P R E F A C E.

READER,

THIS enchiridion I present thee with, is the fruit of solitude: a school few care to learn in, though none instructs us better. Some parts of it are the result of serious reflection: others, the flashings of lucid intervals: written for private satisfaction, and now published for an help to human conduct.

The author blesseth God for his retirement, and kisses that gentle hand which led him into it: for though it should prove barren to the world, it can never do so to him.

He has now had some time he could call his own; a property he was never so much master of before: in which he has taken a view of himself and the world; and observed wherein he hath hit and missed the mark: what might have been done, what mended, and what avoided in his human conduct: together with the omissions and excesses of others, as well societies and governments, as private families and persons. And he verily thinks, were he to live over his life again, he could not only, with God's grace, serve Him, but his neighbour and himself, better than he hath done, and have seven years of his time to spare. And yet, perhaps, he hath not been the worst or the idlest man in the world; nor is he the oldest. And this is the rather said, that it might quicken thee, reader, to lose none of the time that is yet thine.

There is nothing of which we are apt to be so lavish as of time, and about which we ought to be more solicitous; since without it we can do nothing in this world. Time is what we want most, but what, alas!

we use worst; and for which God will certainly most strictly reckon with us, when time shall be no more.

It is of that moment to us in reference to both worlds, that I can hardly wish any man better, than that he would seriously consider what he does with his time: how, and to what ends, he employs it; and what returns he makes to God, his neighbour, and himself for it. Will he never have a leger for this? This, the greatest wisdom and work of life.

To come but once into the world, and trifle away our true enjoyment of it, and of ourselves in it, is lamentable indeed. This one reflection would yield a thinking person great instruction. And since nothing below man can so think; man, in being thoughtless, must needs fall below himself. And that, to be sure, such do, as are unconcerned in the use of their most precious time.

This is but too evident, if we will allow ourselves to consider, that there is hardly any thing we take by the right end, or improve to its just advantage.

We understand little of the works of God, either in nature or grace. We pursue false knowledge, and mistake education extremely. We are violent in our affections, confused and immethodical in our whole life; making that a burthen, which was given for a blessing; and so of little comfort to ourselves or others: misapprehending the true notion of happiness, and so missing of the right use of life, and way of happy living.

And until we are persuaded to stop, and step a little aside, out of the noisy crowd, and incumbering hurry of the world, and calmly take a prospect of things, it will be impossible we should be able to make a right judgment of ourselves, or know our own misery. But after we have made the just reckonings which retirement will help us to, we shall begin to think the world in great measure mad, and that we have been in a sort of Bedlam all this while.

Reader, whether young or old, think it not too soon, or too late, to turn over the leaves of thy past life:
and

and be sure to fold down where any passage of it may affect thee: and bestow thy remainder of time, to correct those faults in thy future conduct: be it in relation to this or the next life. What thou wouldest do, if what thou hast done were to do again, be sure to do as long as thou livest, upon the like occasions.

Our resolutions seem to be vigorous, as often as we reflect upon our past errors: but, alas! they are apt to flag again upon fresh temptations to the same things.

The author does not pretend to deliver thee an exact piece; his business not being ostentation, but charity. It is miscellaneous in the matter of it, and by no means artificial in the composition. But it contains hints, that may serve thee for texts to preach to thyself upon, and which comprehend much of the course of human life: since, whether thou art parent or child, prince or subject, master or servant, single or married, publick or private, mean or honourable, rich or poor, prosperous or improsperous, in peace or controversy, in business or solitude; whatever be thy inclination or aversion, practice or duty, thou wilt find something not unsuitably said for thy direction and advantage. Accept and improve what deserves thy notice; the rest excuse, and place to account of goodwill to thee, and the whole creation of God.

R E F L E C T I O N S

A N D

M A X I M S.

P A R T. I.

1. IGNORANCE.] **I**T is admirable to consider how many millions of people come into, and go out of the world, ignorant of themselves, and of the world they have lived in.

2. If one went to see Windsor-castle, or Hampton-court, it would be strange not to observe and remember the situation, the building, the gardens, fountains, &c. that make up the beauty and pleasure of such a seat: and yet few people know *themselves*: no, not their *own bodies*, the houses of their minds, the most curious structure of the world; a *living; walking* tabernacle: nor the *world*, of which it was made, and out of which it is fed; which would be so much our benefit, as well as our pleasure, to know. We cannot doubt of this, when we are told that the "invisible things of God are brought to light by the things that are *seen*;" and consequently we read our duty in them, as often as we look upon them, to Him that is the great and wise Author of them, if we look as we should do.

3. The world is certainly a great and stately volume of natural things; and may be not improperly stiled

the *hieroglyphicks* of a better: but, alas, how very few leaves of it do we seriously turn over! This ought to be the subject of the education of our youth: who, at twenty, when they should be fit for business, know little or nothing of it.

4. EDUCATION.] We are in pain to make them scholars, but not *men*! To *talk*, rather than to *know*; which is true canting.

5. The first thing obvious to children, is what is *sensible*; and that we make no part of their rudiments.

6. We press their memory too soon, and puzzle, strain and load them with words and rules; to know *grammar* and *rheterick*, and a strange *tongue* or two, that it is ten to one may never be useful to them; leaving their natural genius to *mechanical* and *physical*, or *natural* knowledge uncultivated and neglected; which would be of exceeding use and pleasure to them through the whole course of their life.

7. To be sure, languages are not to be despised or neglected. But *things* are still to be preferred.

8. Children had rather be making of tools, and instruments of play; *shaping*, *drawing*, *framing*, and *building*, &c. than getting some rules of propriety of speech by heart: and those, also, would follow with more judgment, and less trouble and time.

9. It were happy if we studied *nature* more in natural things; and acted *according* to nature; whose rules are *few*, *plain*, and *most reasonable*.

10. Let us begin where she begins, go her pace, and close always where she ends, and we cannot miss of being good *naturalists*.

11. The creation would not be longer a riddle to us: the *heavens*, *earth*, and *waters*, with their respective, various, and numerous inhabitants; their productions, natures, seasons, sympathies and antipathies; their use, benefit, and pleasure, would be better understood by us: and an eternal *wisdom*, *power*, *majesty*, and *goodness*, very *conspicuous* to us, through those sensible and passing *forms*: the world wearing the mark
of

of its MAKER, whose stamp is every where visible, and the characters very legible to the children of wisdom.

12. And it would go a great way to caution and direct people in their use of the world, that they were better studied and knowing in the creation of it.

13. For how could men find the conscience to abuse it, while they should see the Great Creator look them in the face, in all and every part thereof?

14. Therefore ignorance makes them insensible; and to that insensibility may be ascribed their hard usage of several parts of this noble creation, that has the stamp and voice of a DEITY every where, and in every thing, to the observing.

15. It is pity, therefore, that books have not been composed for youth, by some curious and careful naturalists, and also mechanicks, in the *Latin* tongue, to be used in schools, that they might learn *things* with *words*: things obvious and familiar to them, and which would make the tongue easier to be attained by them.

16. Many able gardeners and husbandmen are yet ignorant of the reason of their calling; as most artificers are of the reason of their own rules that govern their excellent workmanship. But a naturalist and mechanick of *this* sort, is master of the reason of *both*, and might be of the practice too, if his industry kept pace with his speculation; which were very commendable; and without which, he cannot be said to be a complete naturalist or mechanick.

17. Finally, if *man* be the index or epitome of the *world*, -as philosophers tell us, we have only to read *ourselves* well, to be learned in it. But because there is nothing we less regard, than the characters of the POWER that made us, which are so clearly written upon us, and the world he has given us, and can best tell us what we are and should be, we are even strangers to our own genius: the glass in which we should see that true, instructing, and agreeable variety, which is to be observed in nature, to the admiration of that
wisdom

wisdom, and adoration of that power, which made us all.

18. PRIDE.] And yet, we are very apt to be full of ourselves, instead of Him that made what we so much value; and but for whom, we can have no reason to value ourselves. For we have nothing that we can call our own; no, not ourselves: for we are all but tenants, and at will too, of the Great LORD of ourselves, and the rest of this great farm, the world that we live upon.

19. But, methinks, we cannot answer it to ourselves, as well as our Maker, that we should live and die ignorant of ourselves; and thereby of Him, and the obligations we are under to him for ourselves.

20. If the worth of a gift sets the obligation; and directs the return of the party that receives it; he that is ignorant of it, will be at a loss to value it, and the Giver for it.

21. Here is man, in his ignorance of himself. He knows not how to estimate his Creator, because he knows not how to value his creation. If we consider his make, and lovely compositure; the several stories of his wonderful structure; his divers members, their order, function, and dependency; the instruments of food, the vessels of digestion, the several transmutations it passes; and how nourishment is carried and diffused throughout the whole body, by most intricate and imperceptible passages: how the animal spirit is thereby refreshed, and with an unspeakable dexterity and motion sets all parts at work to feed themselves: and, last of all, how the rational soul is seated in the animal, as its proper house, as is the animal in the body: I say, if this rare fabrick alone were but considered by us, with all the rest by which it is fed and comforted, surely man would have a more reverent sense of the power, wisdom, and goodness of God, and of that duty he owes to him for it. But if he would be acquainted with his own soul, its noble faculties, its union with the body, its nature and end,
and

and the providences by which the whole frame of humanity is preserved, he would admire and adore his good and great God. But man is become a strange *contradiction* to himself; but it is *of* himself; not being by constitution, but *corruption*, such.

22. He would have others to obey him, even his own kind; but he will not obey God, that is so much above him, and who made him.

23. He will lose none of his authority; no, not bate an ace of it: he is humorous to his wife, he beats his children, is angry with his servants, strict with his neighbours, revenges all affronts to extremity; but, alas! forgets all the while, that *he is the man*; and is more in arrear to God, that is so very patient with him, than they are to him, with whom he is so strict and impatient.

24. He is curious to wash, dress, and perfume his body, but careless of his soul. The one shall have many hours, the other not so many minutes. This shall have three or four new suits in a year, but that must wear its *old* clothes still.

25. If he be to receive or see a great man, how nice and anxious is he that all things be in order? And with what respect and address does he approach and make his court? But to God, how dry, and formal, and constrained in his devotion?

26. In his prayers he says, "*Thy* will be done;" but means his *own*: at least acts so.

27. It is too frequent to begin with *God*, and end with the *world*. But he is the *good* man's beginning and end; his *alpha* and *omega*.

28. LUXURY.] Such is now become our delicacy, that we will not eat ordinary meat, nor drink small, palled liquor; we must have the best, and the best-cooked, for our bodies, while our souls feed on empty or corrupted things.

29. In short, man is spending all upon a bare house, and hath little or no furniture within to recommend it; which is preferring the cabinet before the jewel, a lease
of

of seven years before an inheritance. So absurd a thing is man, after all his proud pretences to wit and understanding.

30. INCONSIDERATION.] The want of due consideration, is the cause of all the unhappiness man brings upon himself. For his second thoughts rarely agree with his first; which pass not without a considerable retrenchment or correction. And yet that sensible warning is, too frequently, not precaution enough for his future conduct.

31. Well may we say, 'Our infelicity is of ourselves;' since there is nothing we *do* that we should *not* do, but we *know* it, and yet *do* it.

32. DISAPPOINTMENTS *and* RESIGNATION.] For disappointments, that come not by our own *folly*, they are the trials or correction of *heaven*: and it is our own fault, if they prove not our advantage.

33. To repine at them, does not mend the matter: it is only to grumble at our Creator. But to see the hand of God in them, with an humble submission to his will, is the way to turn our *water* into *wine*, and engage the greatest love and mercy on our side.

34. We must needs disorder ourselves, if we only look at our losses. But if we consider how little we deserve what is *left*, our passions will cool, and our murmurs will turn into thankfulness.

35. If our hairs fall not to the ground, less do we, or our substance, without God's providence.

36. Nor *can* we fall *below* the arms of God, how low soever it be we fall.

37. For though our Saviour's passion is over, his compassion is not. That never fails his humble, sincere disciples: in him they find more, than all that they lose in the world.

38. MURMURING.] Is it reasonable to take it ill, that any body desires of us that which is their own? All we
have

have is the Almighty's: and shall not God have his own when he calls for it?

39. Discontentedness is not only in such a case ingratitude, but injustice, for we are both unthankful for the time we had it, and not honest enough to restore it, if we could keep it.

40. But it is hard for us to look on things in such a glass, and at such a distance from this low world; and yet it is our duty, and would be our wisdom and our glory, to do so.

41. CENSORIOUSNESS.] We are apt to be very pert at censuring others, where we will not endure advice ourselves. And nothing shews our weakness more, than to be so sharp-sighted at spying other mens faults, and so purblind about our own.

42. When the actions of a neighbour are upon the stage, we can have all our wits about us, are so quick and critical we can split an hair, and find out every failure and infirmity: but are without *feeling*, or have but very little *sense* of our own.

43. Much of this comes from ill-nature, as well as from an inordinate value of ourselves: for we love rambling better than home; and blaming the unhappy, rather than covering and relieving them.

44. In such occasions, some shew their malice, and are witty upon misfortunes; others their justice, they can reflect apace; but few or none their charity; especially if it be about money-matters.

45. You shall see an old miser come forth with a set gravity, and so much severity against the distressed, to excuse his purse, that he will, ere he has done, put it out of all question; That RICHES is *righteousness* with him. 'This,' says he, 'is the fruit of your *prodigality*, (as if, poor man, *covetousness* were no fault) or, of your *projects*, or grasping after a great *trade*;' while he himself would have done the same thing, but that he had not the courage to venture so much ready money out of *his own trusty hands*, though it had been to have brought

brought him back the Indies in return. But the proverb is just, "Vice should not correct sin."

46. They have a right to *censure*, that have an heart to *help*: the rest is cruelty, not justice.

47. BOUNDS of CHARITY.] Lend not beyond thy ability, nor refuse to lend out of thy ability; especially when it will help others *more* than it can hurt *thee*.

48. If thy debtor be honest and capable, thou hast thy money again, if not with increase, with praise: if he prove insolvent, do not ruin him to get that, which it will *not* ruin thee to *lose*: for thou art but a steward, and another is thy owner, master, and judge.

49. The more merciful acts thou dost, the more mercy thou wilt receive: and if with a charitable employment of thy temporal riches, thou gainest eternal treasure, thy purchase is infinite: thou wilt have found the art of multiplying indeed.

50. FRUGALITY or BOUNTY.] Frugality is good, if liberality be joined with it. The first, is leaving-off superfluous expences; the last, bestowing them to the benefit of others that need. The first without the last begins covetousness; the last without the first, begins prodigality: both together make an excellent temper. Happy the place where that is found.

51. Were it universal, we should be cured of two extremes, *want* and *excess*: and the one would supply the other, and so bring both nearer to a mean; the just degree of earthly happiness.

52. It is a reproach to religion and government, to suffer so much poverty and excess.

53. Were the superfluities of a nation valued, and made a perpetual tax or benevolence, there would be more alms-houses than poor; schools than scholars; and enough to spare for government besides.

54. Hospitality is good, if the poorer sort are the subjects of our bounty; else too near a superfluity.

55. DISCIPLINE.] If thou wouldst be happy and easy in thy family, above all things observe discipline.

56. Every one in it should know their duty; and there should be a time and place for every thing: and whatever else is done or omitted, be sure to *begin* and *end* with God.

57. INDUSTRY.] Love *labour*: for if thou dost not want it for food, thou mayest for *physick*. It is wholesome for thy body, and good for thy mind. It prevents the fruits of idleness, which many times comes of nothing to do, and leads too many to do what is worse than nothing.

58. A garden, an elaboratory, a work-house, improvements and breeding, are pleasant and profitable diversions to the idle and ingenious: for here they miss ill company, and converse with nature and art; whose varieties are equally grateful and instructing; and preserve a good constitution of body and mind.

59. TEMPERANCE.] To this a spare diet contributes much. Eat therefore to live, and do not live to eat. That is like a man, but this below a beast.

60. Have wholesome, but not costly food; and be rather cleanly than dainty, in ordering it.

61. The receipts of cookery are swelled to a volume; but a good stomach excels them all; to which nothing contributes more, than industry and temperance.

62. It is a cruel folly, to offer up to ostentation so many lives of creatures, as make up the state of our treats; as it is a prodigal one, to spend more in sauce than in meat.

63. The proverb says, 'That enough is as good as a feast:' but it is certainly *better*, if superfluity be a fault; which never fails to be at festivals.

64. If thou rise with an appetite, thou art sure never to sit down without one.

65. Rarely drink but when thou art *dry*; nor then, between meals, if it can be avoided.

66. The

66. The smaller the drink the clearer the head, and the cooler the blood; which are great benefits in temper and business.

67. Strong liquors are good at *some* times, and in *small* proportions; being better for physick, than food; for cordials, than common use.

68. The most *common* things are the most *useful*: which shews both the wisdom and goodness of the great LORD of the family of the world.

69. What, therefore, he has made *rare*, do not thou use too commonly; lest thou shouldest invert the use and order of things, become wanton and voluptuous, and thy blessings prove a curse.

70. "Let nothing be lost," said our Saviour: but that is *lost* that is *misused*.

71. Neither urge another to that thou wouldest be unwilling to do thyself; nor do thyself what looks to thee unseemly and intemperate in another.

72. All excess is ill; but drunkenness is of the worst sort: it spoils health, dismounts the mind, and unmans men: it reveals secrets; is quarrelsome, lascivious, impudent, dangerous and mad: in fine, he that is drunk is not a *man*; because he is so long void of *reason*, that distinguishes a man from a beast.

73. APPAREL.] *Excess* in apparel is another costly folly: the very trimming of the *vain* world would clothe all the *naked one*.

74. Choose thy clothes by thine *own* eyes, not another's. The more plain and simple they are, the better: neither *unshapely*, nor *fantastical*; and for use and decency, and not for pride.

75. If thou art clean and warm, it is sufficient; for more doth but rob the poor, and please the wanton.

76. It is said of the true church, "The king's daughter is all glorious *within*:" let our care, therefore, be of our *minds*, more than of our bodies, if we would be of her communion.

77. We are told, with truth, "That meekness and modesty are the rich and charming attire of the soul:" and

and the plainer the dress, the more distinctly, and with greater lustre, their beauty shines.

78. It is great pity such beauties are so rare, and those of *Jezebel's* forehead are so common: whose dresses are incentives to lust; but bars, instead of motives, to love or virtue.

79. RIGHT MARRIAGE.] Never marry but for love: but see that thou lovest what is lovely.

80. If love be not thy chiefest motive, thou wilt soon grow weary of a married state, and stray from thy promise, to search out thy pleasures in forbidden places.

81. Let not enjoyment lessen, but augment affection: it being the basest of passions to *like*, when we *have not*, what we *slight* when we *possess*.

82. It is the difference between lust and love, that this is *fixed*, that *volatile*. Love *grows*, lust *wastes*, by enjoyment: and the reason is, that one springs from an union of *souls*, and the other springs from an union of *sense*.

83. They have divers originals, and so are of different families: that inward and deep; this superficial: this transient, and that permanent.

84. They that marry for *money*, cannot have the true satisfaction of marriage; the requisite means being wanting.

85. Men are generally more careful of the breed of their horses and dogs, than of their children.

86. *Those* must be of the best sort, for shape, strength, courage, and good conditions: but as for *these*, their own posterity, *money* shall answer all things. With such, it makes the *crooked* straight, sets *squint-eyes* right, cures *madness*, covers *folly*, changes *ill conditions*, mends the *skin*, gives a *sweet breath*, repairs *honours*, makes *young*, works *wonders*.

87. O how *sordid* is *man* grown! Man, the noblest creature of the world, as a *God* on *earth*, and the image of him that made it; thus to mistake *earth* for *heaven*, and worship *gold* for God!

88. AVARICE.] *Covetousness* is the *greatest of monsters*, as well as the *root of all evil*. I have once seen the man that *died to save charges!* *What!* Give ten shillings to a doctor, and have an apothecary's bill besides, that may come to I know not what! No, not he: valuing life less than twenty shillings. But, indeed, such a man could not, well, set too low a price upon himself; who though he lived up to the chin in bags, had rather die than find in his heart to open one of them, to help to save his life.

89. Such a man is *felo de se*, and deserves not *Christian burial*.

90. He is a common nuisance, a weyer cros the stream, that stops the current: an *obstruction*, to be removed by a purge of the law. The only gratification he gives his neighbours, is to let them see that he *himself* is as little the better for what he has, as *they* are. For he always looks like *lent*; a sort of *lay-minim*. In some sense he may be compared to *Pbaroab's lean kine*; for all that he has, does him no good. He commonly wears his clothes till they leave *him*, or that nobody else can wear them. He affects to be thought *poor*, to escape robbery and taxes; and, by *looking* as if he *wanted* an alms, excuse himself from *giving* any. He ever goes *late* to markets, to cover buying the *worst*: but does it because that is *cheapest*. He lives of the *offal*. His life were an insupportable punishment, to any temper but his own: and no greater torment to him on earth, than to live as *other* men do. But the misery of his pleasure is, that he is *never satisfied* with *getting*, and always in *fear of losing* what he cannot use.

91. How vilely he has lost himself, that becomes a *slave* to his servant, and exalts him to the dignity of his Maker! *gold* is the *god*, the *wife*, the *friend*, of the *money-monger* of the world. But in

92. MARRIAGE.] Do thou be wise: prefer the *person* before *money*, *virtue* before *beauty*, the *mind* before the *body*: then thou hast a *wife*, a *friend*, a *companion*, a *second-self*; one that bears an equal share with thee, in all thy toils and troubles.

93. Chuse

93. Chuse one that measures her satisfaction, safety, and danger, by *thine*; and of whom thou art *sure*, as of thy secretest thoughts: a *friend*, as well as a wife; which, indeed, a *wife implies*: for she is but *half* a wife that is not, or is not capable of being, *such* a friend.

94. *Sexes* make no difference; since in *souls* there is none: and *they* are the subjects of *friendship*.

95. He that minds a *body*, and not a *soul*, has not the *better* part of that relation; and will consequently want the noblest comfort of a married life.

96. The satisfaction of our *senses* is *low*, *short*, and *transient*: but the *mind* gives a more *raised* and *extended* pleasure, and is capable of an happiness founded upon *reason*; not bounded and limited by the circumstances that *bodies* are confined to.

97. *Here* it is we ought to search out our pleasure, where the field is large, and full of variety, and of an enduring nature: sickness, poverty, or disgrace, being not able to *shake* it, because it is not under the moving influences of worldly contingencies.

98. The satisfaction of those that do so, is in *well-doing*, and in the *assurance* they have of a future reward: that they are *best* loved of those they love *most*, and that they enjoy and value the liberty of their *minds* above that of their bodies; having the *whole creation* for their prospect; the most *noble* and *wonderful works* and *providences* of God, the *histories* of the *ancients*, and in them the *actions* and *examples* of the virtuous; and lastly, *themselves*, their *affairs*, and *family*, to exercise their minds and friendship upon.

99. Nothing can be more entire and without reserve; nothing more zealous, affectionate and sincere; nothing more contented and constant, than such a couple; nor no greater temporal felicity than to be *one of them*.

100. Between a man and his wife, nothing ought to rule but *love*. Authority is for *children* and *servants*; yet not without sweetness.

101. As love ought to bring them together, so it is the best way to keep them *well* together.

102. Wherefore use her not as a *servant*, whom thou wouldst, perhaps, have *served* seven years to have obtained.

103. An husband and wife that *love* and *value* one another, shew their children and servants that *they* should do so too. *Others*, visibly *lose* their *authority* in their families, by their *contempt* of one another; and teach their children to be *unnatural*, by their own *examples*,

104. It is a general fault, not to be more careful to preserve *nature* in children; who, at least in the second descent, hardly have the *feeling* of their *relation*: which must be an unpleasant reflection to affectionate parents.

105. Frequent *visits*, *presents*, intimate *correspondence*, and *intermarriages* within allowed bounds, are means of keeping up the concern and affection that *nature* requires from relations.

106. FRIENDSHIP.] *Friendship* is the next pleasure we may hope for: and where we find it not at home, or have no home to find it in, we may seek it abroad. It is an union of *spirits*, a marriage of *hearts*, and the bond thereof *virtue*.

107. There can be no *friendship* where there is no *freedom*. Friendship loves a free air, and will not be penned up in straight and narrow inclosures. It will speak freely, and act so too; and take nothing *ill*, where no ill is *meant*; nay, where it is, it will easily *forgive*, and *forget* too, upon *small* acknowledgments.

108. Friends are true *twins* in soul; they *sympatize* in every thing, and have the *same* love and aversion.

109. One is not happy without the other; nor can either of them be miserable alone. As if they could change bodies, they take their turns in pain as well as in pleasure; relieving one another in their most adverse conditions.

110. What one enjoys, the other cannot want. Like the primitive Christians, they have all things in common, and no property, but in one another.

111. QUALITIES *of a FRIEND.*] A true friend unbosoms freely, advises justly, assists readily, adventures boldly, takes all patiently, defends courageously, and continues a friend unchangeably.

112. These being the qualities of a friend, we are to find them, before we chuse one.

113. The covetous, the angry, the proud, the jealous, the talkative, cannot but make *ill* friends, as well as *false*.

114. In short, chuse a friend as thou dost a wife, 'till death separate you.'

115. Yet be not a friend beyond the altar: but let virtue bound thy friendship: else it is not friendship, but an evil confederacy.

116. If my brother, or kinsman, will be my friend; I ought to prefer him before a stranger; or I shew little duty or nature to my parents.

117. And as we ought to prefer our kindred in point of affection, so too in point of charity, if equally needing and deserving.

118. CAUTION *and CONDUCT.*] Be not easily acquainted; lest, finding reason to cool, thou makest an enemy, instead of a good neighbour.

119. Be reserved, but not *sour*; grave, but not *formal*; bold, but not *rash*; humble, but not *servile*; patient, not *insensible*; constant, not *obstinate*; cheerful, not *light*; rather sweet, than *familiar*; familiar, than *intimate*; and intimate with very few, and upon very good grounds.

120. Return the civilities thou receivest; and be ever grateful for favours.

121. REPARATION.] If thou hast done an injury to another, rather own it, than defend it. One way thou gainest forgiveness; the other, thou doublest the wrong and reckoning.

122. Some oppose honour to submission: but it can be no honour to maintain, what it is dishonourable to do.

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123. To confess a fault that is none, out of fear, is indeed mean: but not to be afraid of standing in one, is brutish.

124. We should make more haste to *right* our neighbour, than we do to *wrong* him; and instead of being vindictive, we should leave him to judge of his own satisfaction.

125. True honour will pay treble damages, rather than justify one wrong by another.

126. In such controversies, it is but too common for some to say, 'Both are to blame,' to excuse their own unconcernedness; which is a base neutrality! Others will cry, 'They are both alike;' thereby involving the injured with the guilty, to mince the matter for the faulty, or cover their own injustice to the wronged party.

127. Fear and gain, are great perverters of mankind; and where either prevails, the judgment is violated.

128. RULES of CONVERSATION.] Avoid company, where it is not profitable or necessary: and in those occasions, speak little, and last.

129. Silence is wisdom, where speaking is folly, and always safe.

130. Some are so foolish, as to interrupt and anticipate those that speak, instead of hearing and thinking before they answer: which is uncivil, as well as silly.

131. If thou thinkest twice, before thou speakest once, thou wilt speak twice the better for it.

132. Better say nothing, than not to the purpose. And to speak pertinently, consider both what is fit, and when it is fit, to speak.

133. In all debates, let truth be thy aim; not victory, or an unjust interest: and endeavour to gain, rather than to expose, thy antagonist.

134. Give no advantage in argument, nor lose any that is offered. This is a benefit which arises from temper.

135. Do not use thyself to dispute against thine own judgment, to shew *wit*, lest it prepare thee to be too indifferent about what is *right*: nor against another man, to *vex* him, or for mere trial of *skill*; since to *inform*, or to be *informed*, ought to be the end of all conferences.

136. Men are too apt to be more concerned for their credit, than for the cause.

137. ELOQUENCE.] There is a truth and beauty in rhetorick; but it oftener serves *ill* turns than good ones.

138. Elegancy is a good *mien* and *address* given to matter, be it by proper, or by figurative speech: where the words are apt, and allusions very natural, certainly it has a moving grace: but it is too artificial for simplicity, and oftentimes for truth. The danger is, lest it delude the weak; who, in such cases, may mistake the handmaid for the mistress, if not error for truth.

139. It is certain, truth is least indebted to it, because she has least need of it, and least uses it.

140. But it is a reproveable delicacy, in them that despise truth in plain clothes.

141. Such luxurians have but *false* appetites; like those gluttons, that by sauces *force* them, where they have no stomach, and sacrifice to their palate, not their health; which cannot be, without great vanity; nor that, without some *sin*.

142. TEMPER.] Nothing does reason more right, than the coolness of those that offer it: for truth often suffers more by the heat of its defenders, than from the arguments of its opposers.

143. *Zeal* ever follows an appearance of truth; and the assured are too apt to be too warm: but it is their weak side in argument; zeal being better shewn against *sin*, than persons, or their mistakes.

136 REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS.

144. TRUTH.] Where thou art obliged to speak, be sure to speak the truth: for equivocation is *half-way* to lying; as lying, the *whole way* to *bell*.

145. JUSTICE.] Believe nothing against another, but upon good authority: nor report what may hurt another, unless it be a *greater* hurt to others to conceal it.

146. SECRECY.] It is wise not to *seek* a secret; and *honest*, not to *reveal* one.

147. Only trust thyself, and another shall not betray thee.

148. Openness has the mischief, though not the malice, of treachery.

149. COMPLACENCY.] Never assent merely to please others. For that is, beside flattery, oftentimes untruth; and discovers a mind liable to be servile and base: nor contradict to vex others; for that shews an ill temper, and provokes, but profits no body.

150. SHIFTS.] [Do not accuse others to excuse thyself; for that is neither generous nor just. But let sincerity and ingenuousness be thy refuge, rather than craft and falsehood: for *cunning* borders very near upon *knavery*.

151. *Wisdom* never uses nor wants it. *Cunning* to *wise*, is an ape to a man.

152. INTEREST.] Interest has the *security*, though not the *virtue*, of a principle. As the world goes, it is the surer side; for men daily leave both relations and religion to follow it.

153. It is an odd sight, but very evident, that families and nations, of cross religions and humours, unite against those of their own, where they find an *interest* to do it.

154. We are tied down by our *senses* to this *world*; and where *that* is in question, it can be none with
worldly

worldly men, whether they should not forsake all other considerations for it.

155. INQUIRY.] Have a care of *vulgar errors*, dislike, as well as allow, *reasonably*.

156. Inquiry is *human*; blind obedience, *brutal*. Truth never *loses* by the one, but often *suffers* by the other.

157. The *usefullest* truths are *plainest*: and while we keep to them, our differences cannot rise high.

158. There may be *wantonness* in search, as well as a *stupidity* in trusting. It is great wisdom equally to avoid the extremes.

159. RIGHT-TIMING.] Do nothing *improperly*. Some are witty, kind, cold, angry, easy, stiff, jealous, careless, cautious, confident, close, open, but all in the *wrong* place.

160. It is ill mistaking, where the matter is of importance.

161. It is not enough that a thing be *right*, if it be not *fit* to be done. If not *prudent*, though just, it is not *adviseable*. He that loses by getting, had better lose than get.

162. KNOWLEDGE.] Knowledge is the *treasure*, but judgment the *treasurer*, of a wise man.

163. He that has more knowledge than judgment, is made for another man's use, more than his own.

164. It cannot be a good constitution, where the appetite is great, and the digestion weak.

165. There are some men like *ictionaries*: to be looked into upon occasion; but have no connection, and are little entertaining.

166. Less knowledge than judgment, will always have the advantage upon the *injudicious* knowing man.

167. A wise man makes what he learns his own; the other shews he is but a copy, or a collection at most.

168. WIT.] Wit is an happy and striking way of expressing a thought.

169. It is not often, though it be lively and manly, that it carries a great body with it.

170. Wit, therefore, is fitter for diversion than business, being more grateful to fancy than judgment.

171. Less judgment than wit, is more *fail* than *bal-
last*.

172. Yet it must be confessed, that wit gives an edge to sense, and recommends it extremely.

173. Where judgment has wit to express it, there is the best orator.

174. OBEDIENCE to PARENTS.] If thou wouldst be *obeyed*, being a father; being a son, be *obedient*.

175. He that begets thee, *owns* thee, and has a natural right over thee.

176. Next to God, thy *parents*; next them, the *magistrate*.

177. Remember that thou art not more indebted to thy parents for thy *nature*, than for their *love* and *care*.

178. Rebellion, therefore, in children, was made *death* by God's law, and in the people, the next sin to *idolatry*; which is *renouncing* of God, the great *Parent* of all.

179. Obedience to parents is not only our duty, but our *interest*. If we received our *life* from them, we *prolong* it by obeying them: for *obedience* is the first commandment with *promise*.

180. The *obligation* is as indissoluble as the *relation*.

181. If we must not disobey *God* to obey *them*, at least we must let them see, that there is *nothing else* in our refusal. For *some* unjust commands cannot excuse the *general* neglect of our duty. They will be our parents, and we must be their children still: and if we cannot act for them against God, neither can we act against them for ourselves, or any thing else.

182. BEARING.] A man in business must put up many affronts, if he loves his own quiet.

183. We

183. We must not pretend to see all that we see, if we would be *easy*.

184. It were endless to dispute upon every thing that is disputable.

185. A *vindictive* temper is not only uneasy to *others*, but to them that have it.

186. PROMISING.] Rarely promise. But, if lawful, *constantly* perform.

187. Hasty resolutions are of the nature of *vows*; and to be equally avoided.

188. 'I will never do this,' says one, yet *does* it: 'I am resolved to do that,' says another; but *flags* upon second thoughts; or does it, though awkwardly, for his word's sake: as if it were *worse* to break his word, than to do *amiss* in keeping it.

189. Wear none of *thine own* chains; but keep free, whilst thou art free.

190. It is an effect of passion, that wisdom corrects, to lay thyself under resolutions that cannot be well made, and worse performed.

191. FIDELITY.] Avoid all thou canst being *intrusted*: but do thy *utmost* to discharge the trust thou undertakest: for carelessness is injurious, if not unjust.

192. The glory of a servant is *fidelity*; which cannot be without diligence, as well as truth.

193. Fidelity has enfranchised slaves, and adopted servants to be sons.

194. Reward a good servant well; and rather quit, than disquiet thyself with, an ill one.

195. MASTER.] Mix *kindness* with authority; and rule more by *discretion* than rigour.

196. If thy servant be faulty, strive rather to convince him of his error, than discover thy passion: and when he is sensible, *forgive* him.

197. Remember he is thy *fellow-creature*; and that God's *goodness*, not thy *merit*, has made the difference betwixt thee and him.

198. Let

198. Let not thy children *domineer* over thy servants: nor suffer them to *slight* thy children.

199. Suppress'tales in the general: but where a matter requires notice, encourage the complaint, and right the aggrieved.

200. If a child, he ought to *intreat*, and not to command: and if a servant, to *comply*, where he does not obey.

201. Though there should be but one master and mistress in a family, yet servants should know that children have the *reversion*.

202. SERVANT.] Indulge not unseemly things in thy master's children, nor refuse them what is fitting: for one is the highest *unfaithfulness*; and the other, *indiscretion*, as well as *disrespect*.

203. Do thine own work, honestly and cheerfully: and when that is done, help thy fellow; that so another time he may help thee.

204. If thou wilt be a *good* servant, thou must be *true*; and thou canst not be true, if thou *defraudest* thy master.

205. A master may be defrauded many ways by a servant: as in time, care, pains, money, trust.

206. But, a *true* servant is the contrary: he is diligent, careful, trusty. He tells no tales, reveals no secrets, refuses no pains: not to be tempted by *gain*, or awed by *fear*, to *unfaithfulness*.

207. Such a servant serves God, in serving his master; and has double wages for his work, to wit, *here* and *hereafter*.

208. JEALOUS.] Be not *fancifully* jealous; for that is *foolish*: as, to be *reasonably* so, is *wise*.

209. He that *superfines* upon other mens actions, cozens himself, as well as injures them.

210. To be very subtle and scrupulous in business, is as hurtful as being over-confident and secure.

211. In difficult cases, such a temper is timorous; and in dispatch irresolute.

212. *Expe-*

212. *Experience* is a safe guide; and a *practical* head is a great happiness in business.

213. POSTERITY.] We are too careless of posterity; not considering that as *they* are, so the *next* generation will be.

214. If we would amend the world, we should mend *ourselves*; and teach our children to be, not what *we* are, but what they *should* be.

215. We are too apt to awaken and tune up their passions by the example of our own; and to teach them to be pleased, not with what *is* best, but with what *pleases* best.

216. It is our duty, and ought to be our care, to ward against that passion in *them*, which is more especially *our own* weakness and affliction; for we are in great measure accountable for them, as well as for ourselves.

217. We are in this, also, true turners of the world upside down: for money is *first*, and virtue *last*, and least in our care.

218. It is not *how* we leave our children, but *what* we leave them.

219. To be sure, virtue is but a *supplement*, and not a *principal*, in their portion and character; and therefore we see so little *wisdom*, or *goodness*, among the rich, in proportion to their wealth.

220. A COUNTRY LIFE.] The country life is to be preferred; for there we see the works of *God*; but in *cities*, little else but the works of *men*: and the one makes a better subject for our contemplation than the other.

221. As puppets are to men, and babies to children, so is *man's* workmanship to *God's*: we are the picture, He the reality.

222. *God's* works declare his *power*, *wisdom*, and *goodness*: but *man's* works, for the most part, his *pride*, *folly*, and *excess*. The one is for *use*, the other, chiefly, for *ostentation* and *lust*.

223. The

223. The country is both the philosopher's *garden* and *library*, in which he reads and contemplates the power, wisdom, and goodness of God.

224. It is his food, as well as study; and gives him life, as well as learning.

225. A sweet and natural retreat from *noise* and *talk*; and allows opportunity for *reflection*, and gives the best subjects for it.

226. In short, it is an original; and the knowledge and improvement of it, man's oldest business and trade, and the best he can be of.

227. ART and PROJECT.] *Art* is good, where it is beneficial. Socrates wisely bounded his knowledge and instruction by practice.

228. Have a care, therefore, of *projects*; and yet despise nothing *rashly*, or in the *lump*.

229. *Ingenuity*, as well as religion, sometimes suffers between two *thieves*; *pretenders* and *despisers*.

230. Though injudicious and dishonest projectors often discredit art; yet the most useful and extraordinary inventions have not, at first, escaped the scorn of ignorance; as their authors rarely have cracking of their heads, or breaking of their backs.

231. Undertake no experiment in speculation, that appears not *true* in *art*; nor then, at thine own cost, if costly or hazardous in making.

232. As many hands make light work; so several purges make cheap experiments.

233. INDUSTRY.] Industry, is certainly very commendable, and supplies the want of parts.

234. Patience and diligence, like *faith*, remove mountains.

235. Never give out while there is hope: but hope not beyond reason; for that shews more desire than judgment.

236. It is a profitable wisdom, to know when we have done enough: much time and pains are spared, in not flattering ourselves against probabilities.

237. TIM-

237. TEMPORAL HAPPINESS.] Do *good* with what thou hast, or it will do thee *no good*.

238. Seek not to be rich, but happy. The one lies in bags, the other in *content*; which wealth can never give.

239. We are apt to call things by wrong names. We will have prosperity to be *happiness*, and adversity to be *misery*; though that is the *school* of *wisdom*, and oftentimes the *way* to *eternal happiness*.

240. If thou wouldst be happy, bring thy mind to thy *condition*, and have an indifferency for more than what is sufficient.

241. Have but *little to do*, and *do it thyself*: and do to *others* as thou wouldst have them *do to thee*: so, thou canst not fail of temporal felicity.

242. The generality are the worse for their plenty. The voluptuous consumes it, the miser hides it: it is the *good* man that uses it, and to good purposes. But such are hardly found among the prosperous.

243. Be rather bountiful, than expensive.

244. Neither make nor go to feasts; but let the laborious poor bless thee at home in their solitary cottages.

245. Neither voluntarily want what thou hast in possession; nor so spend it, as to involve thyself in want unavoidable.

246. Be not tempted to presume by success: for many that have got largely, have lost all, by coveting to get more.

247. To hazard much to get much, has more of avarice than wisdom.

248. It is great prudence, both to *bound* and *use* prosperity.

249. Too few know when they have enough; and fewer know how to employ it.

250. It is equally advisable not to part lightly with what is hardly gotten, and not to shut up closely what flows in freely.

251. Act not the shark upon thy neighbour; nor take advantage of the ignorance, prodigality, or necessity

cessity of any one: for that is next door to fraud, and, at best, makes but an unblest gain.

252. It is oftentimes the judgment of God upon greedy, rich men, that he suffers them to push on their desires of wealth to the excess of over-reaching, grinding, or oppression, which poisons all they have gotten: so that it commonly runs away as fast, and by as bad ways, as it was heaped up together.

253. RESPECT.] Never esteem any man, or thyself, the more for *money*; nor think the meaner of thyself or another, for want of it: *virtue* being the just reason of respecting, and the want of it of slighting, any one.

254. A man, like a watch, is to be valued for his goings.

255. He that prefers him upon other accounts, bows to an idol.

256. Unless virtue guide us, our choice must be wrong.

257. An able *bad* man is an ill instrument, and to be shunned as the plague.

258. Be not deceived with the first appearances of things; but give thyself time, to be in the right.

259. *Shew* is not substance: realities govern wise men.

260. Have a care, therefore, where there is more fail than ballast.

261. HAZARD.] In all business, it is best to put nothing to hazard: but where it is unavoidable, be not rash, but firm and resigned.

262. We should not be troubled for what we cannot help: but if it was our fault, let it be so no more. Amendment is repentance, if not reparation.

263. As a desperate game needs an able gamester; so consideration often would prevent, what the best skill in the world cannot recover.

264. Where the probability of advantage exceeds not that of loss, wisdom never adventures.

265. To

265. To shoot well flying, is well; but to *chuse* it, has more of vanity than judgment.

266. To be *dextrous* in danger, is a virtue; but to *court* danger to *shew* it, is weakness.

267. DETRACTION.] Have a care of that base evil, detraction. It is the fruit of envy, as that is of pride; the immediate offspring of the devil: who, of an *angel*, a *Lucifer*, a *son* of the *morning*, made himself a *serpent*, a *devil*, a *Beelzebub*, and all that is obnoxious to the *Eternal Goodness*.

268. Virtue is not secure against envy. Men will lessen, what they will not imitate.

269. Dislike what *deserves* it; but never *bate*: for that is of the nature of *malice*; which is almost ever to *persons*, not things; and is one of the blackest qualities sin begets in the soul.

270. MODERATION.] It were an happy day, if men could bound and qualify their resentments with *charity* to the offender: for then, our anger would be without *sin*, and better convict and edify the guilty; which alone can make it lawful.

271. Not to be *provoked*, is best: but if *moved*, never correct till the *fume* is *spent*: for every stroke our fury strikes, is sure to hit ourselves at last.

272. If we did but observe the allowances our *reason* makes upon reflection, when our *passion* is over, we could not want a *rule* how to behave ourselves again on the like occasions.

273. We are more prone to complain than redress, and to censure than excuse.

274. It is next to unpardonable, that we can so often *blame* what we will not once *mend*. It shews, that we *know*, but will not *do*, our *Master's will*.

275. They that *censure*, should *practise*: or else, let them heave the *first* stone, and the *last* too.

276. TRICK.] Nothing *needs* a trick, *but* a trick; sincerity *loaths* one.

277. We must take care to do *right* things *rightly*: for a *just* sentence may be *unjustly* executed.

278. *Circumstances* give great light to true judgment, if well weighed.

279. PASSION.] Passion is a sort of *fever* in the *mind*, which ever leaves us *weaker* than it found us.

280. But being intermitting, to be sure it is curable with care.

281. It more than any thing deprives us of the use of our *judgment*; for it raises a dust very hard to see through.

282. Like wine, whose lees fly up, being jogged, it is too muddy to drink.

283. It may not unfitly be termed the *mob* of the *man*, that commits a *riot* upon his *reason*.

284. I have oftentimes thought, that a passionate man is like a weak spring, that cannot stand long locked.

285. And it is as true, that those things are unfit for use, that cannot bear small knocks without breaking.

286. He that will not *bear*, cannot *judge*; and he that cannot bear contradiction, may, with all his wit, miss the mark.

287. Objection and debate sift out truth; which needs temper, as well as judgment.

288. But, above all, observe it in resentments; for there passion is most extravagant.

289. Never chide for anger, but instruction.

290. He that corrects out of passion, raises revenge sooner than repentance.

291. It has more of wantonness than wisdom; and resembles those that eat to please their palate, rather than their appetite.

292. It is the difference between a wise and a weak man; *this* judges by the lump; *that*, by parts and their connection.

293. The Greeks used to say, All cases are governed by their circumstances. The same thing may be well and ill, as *they* change or vary the matter.

294. A man's strength is shewn by his bearing.
Bonum agere, & male pati, regis est.

295. PERSONAL CAUTIONS.] Reflect without malice, but never without need.

296. Despise no body, nor no condition; lest it come to be thine own.

297. Never rail, nor taunt. The one is rude, the other is scornful; and both evil.

298. Be not provoked by injuries, to *commit* them.

299. Upbraid only ingratitude.

300. Haste makes work, which caution prevents.

301. Tempt no man; lest thou fall for it.

302. Have a care of presuming upon after-games: for if that miss, all is gone.

303. Opportunities should never be lost, because they can hardly be regained.

304. It is well to cure, but better to prevent a distemper. The first shews more skill, but the last more wisdom.

305. Never make a trial of skill in difficult or hazardous cases.

306. Refuse not to be informed: for that shews pride, or stupidity.

307. Humility and knowledge in *poor* clothes, excel pride and ignorance in *costly* attire.

308. Neither despise, nor oppose, what thou dost not understand.

309. BALANCE.] We must not be concerned above the *value* of the thing that engages us; nor raised *above* reason, in maintaining what we think *reasonable*.

310. It is too common an error, to invert the order of things, by making an end of that which is a means, and a means of that which is an end.

311. Religion and government escape not this mischief: the first is too often made a *means*, instead of an end; the other an *end*, instead of a means.

312. Thus men seek *wealth*, rather than subsistence; and the *end* of clothes, is the least reason of their *use*.

Nor is the satisfying of our *appetite* our end in eating, so much as the pleasing of our *palate*. The like may also be said of building, furniture, &c. where the *man* rules not the beast, and appetite submits not to *reason*.

313. It is great wisdom, to proportion our esteem to the nature of the thing: for as that way things will not be undervalued, so neither will they engage us above their intrinsic worth.

314. If we suffer little things to have great hold upon us, we shall be as much transported for them, as if they deserved it.

315. It is an old proverb, *Maxima bella ex levissimis causis*: the greatest feuds have had the smallest beginnings.

316. No matter what the *subject* of the dispute be, but what place we give it in our minds. For that governs our concern and resentment.

317. It is one of the fataleſt errors of our lives, when we spoil a good cause by an ill management: and it is not impossible but we may *mean well* in an ill business; but that will not *defend* it.

318. If we are but sure the end is *right*, we are too apt to gallop over all bounds to compass it; not considering that lawful ends may be very unlawfully attained.

319. Let us be careful to take just ways to compass just things; that they may last in their benefits to us.

320. There is a troublesome humour some men have, that if they may not *lead*, they will not *follow*; but had rather a thing were never done, than not done their own way, though otherwise very desirable.

321. This comes of an over-fulness of ourselves, and shews we are more concerned for praise, than the success of what we think a good thing.

322. POPULARITY.] Affect not to be *seen*, and men will less see thy weakness.

323. They

323. They that *shew* more than they *are*, raise an expectation they cannot answer; and so lose their credit, as soon as they are found out.

324. Avoid popularity. It has many snares, and no real benefit to thyself; and uncertainty to others.

325. PRIVACY.] Remember the proverb, *Benè qui latuit, benè vixit*: They are happy, that live retiredly.

326. If this be true, princes and their grandees, of all men, are the unhappiest: for they live least alone: and they that must be enjoyed by every body, can never enjoy themselves as they should.

327. It is the advantage little men have upon them; they can be private, and have leisure for family comforts, which are the greatest worldly contents men can enjoy.

328. But they that place pleasure in greatness, seek it there: and, we see, rule is as much the ambition of some natures, as privacy is the choice of others.

329. GOVERNMENT.] Government has many shapes: but it is sovereignty, though not freedom, in all of them.

330. *Rex & tyrannus*, are very differing characters: *one* rules his people by laws, to which they consent; the other, by his absolute will and power. That is called freedom; this tyranny.

331. The first is endangered by the ambition of the populace, which shakes the constitution: the other, by an ill administration, which hazards the tyrant and his family.

332. It is great wisdom, in princes of both sorts, not to strain points too high with their people: for whether the people have a right to oppose them or not, they are ever sure to attempt it, when things are carried too far: though the remedy oftentimes proves worse than the disease.

333. Happy that king who is great by justice, and that people who are free by obedience.

334. Where the ruler is *just*, he may be *strict*; else it is two to one it turns upon him: and though he should prevail, he can be no gainer, where his people are the losers.

335. Princes must not have passions in government, nor resent beyond interest and religion.

336. Where example keeps pace with authority, power hardly fails to be obeyed, and magistrates to be honoured.

337. Let the people think they govern, and they will be governed.

338. This cannot fail, if those they trust, are trusted.

339. That prince who is just to them in great things, and humours them oftentimes in small ones, is sure to have and keep them from all the world.

340. For the people is the politic wife of the prince, that may be better managed by wisdom, than ruled by force.

341. But where the magistrate is partial, and serves ill turns, he loses his authority with the people; and gives the populace opportunity to gratify their ambition: and so lays a stumbling-block for his people to fall.

342. It is true, that where a subject is more popular than the prince, the prince is in danger: but it is as true, that it is his own fault: for nobody has the like means, interest or reason, to be popular as he.

343. It is an unaccountable thing, that some princes incline rather to be feared than loved; when they see, that fear does not oftener secure a prince against the dissatisfaction of his people, than love makes a subject too many for such a prince.

344. Certainly service upon inclination, is like to go farther, than obedience upon compulsion.

345. The Romans had a just sense of this, when they placed *optimus* before *maximus*, to their most illustrious captains and Cæsars,

346. Besides, experience tells us, that goodness raises a nobler passion in the soul, and gives a better sense of duty, than severity.

347. What

347. What did Pharoah get by increasing the Israelites' task? Ruin to himself in the end.

348. Kings, chiefly in this, should imitate God: their *mercy* should be *above all their works*.

349. The difference between the prince and the peasant, is in *this* world: but a temper ought to be observed by him that has the advantage here, because of the judgment of the *next*.

350. The *end* of every thing should direct the *means*: now that of *government* being the *good* of the *whole*, nothing less should be the aim of the prince.

351. As often as rulers endeavour to attain just ends by just mediums, they are sure of a quiet and easy government; and as sure of convulsions, where the natures of things are violated, and their order over-ruled.

352. It is certain, princes ought to have great allowances made them for faults in government; since they see by *other* people's eyes, and hear by *their* ears. But *ministers of state*, their immediate confidants and instruments, have much to answer for, if, to gratify private passions, they misguide the prince to do publick injury.

353. Ministers of state should undertake their posts at *their peril*. If princes *over-rule* them, let them shew the *law*, and humbly *resign*; if fear, gain, or flattery prevail, let them answer it to the *law*.

354. The prince cannot be preserved, but where the minister is punishable: for people, as well as princes, will not endure *imperium in imperio*.

355. If ministers are weak or ill men, and so spoil their *places*, it is the *prince's* fault that chose them: but if their places spoil *them*, it is *their own* fault to be made worse by them.

356. It is but just that those that reign by their princes, should suffer for their princes: for it is a safe and necessary maxim, not to shift heads in government, while the hands are in being that should answer for them.

357. And yet it were intolerable to be a minister of state, if every body may be accuser and judge.

358. Let, therefore, the false accuser no more escape an exemplary punishment, than the guilty minister.

359. For it *profanes* government to have the *credit* of the leading men in it subject to *vulgar* censure; which is often ill-grounded.

360. The safety of a prince, therefore, consists in a well chosen council: and that only can be said to be so, where the persons that compose it are qualified for the business that comes before them.

361. Who would send to a taylor to make a lock? Or to a smith to make a suit of clothes?

362. Let there be *merchants* for trade, seamen for the admiralty, *travellers* for foreign affairs, some of the *leading men* of the country for home-business, and *common* and *civil lawyers* to advise of legality and right: who should always keep to the strict rules of law.

363. Three things contribute much to ruin government: *looseness*, *oppression*, and *envy*.

364. Where the reins of government are too slack, there the manners of the people are corrupted: and that destroys industry, begets effeminacy, and provokes heaven against it.

365. Oppression makes a poor country, and a desperate people, who always wait an opportunity to change.

366. "He that ruleth over men, must be just, "ruling in the fear of God," said an old and wise king.

367. Envy disturbs and distracts government, clogs the wheels, and perplexes the administration: and nothing contributes more to this disorder, than a *partial* distribution of rewards and punishments in the sovereign.

368. As it is not reasonable that men should be *compelled* to serve; so those that have employments should not be endured to leave them *humourously*.

369. Where

369. Where the state intends a man no affront, he should not affront the state.

370. A PRIVATE LIFE.] A private life is to be preferred; the honour and gain of publick posts bearing no proportion with the comfort of it. The one is free and quiet, the other servile and noisy.

371. It was a great answer of the Shunamite woman, "I dwell among *my own* people."

372. They that live of their own, neither need, nor often list, to wear the livery of the publick.

373. Their subsistence is not during *pleasure*, nor have they patrons to please or present.

374. If they are not advanced, neither can they be disgraced. And as they know not the smiles of majesty, so they feel not the frowns of greatness, or the effects of envy.

375. If they want the pleasures of a court, they also escape the temptations of it.

376. Private men, in fine, are so much their own, that, paying common dues, they are sovereigns of all the rest.

377. A PUBLICK LIFE.] Yet the publick must and will be served; and they that do it well, deserve publick marks of honour and profit.

378. To do so, men must have publick minds, as well as salaries; or they will serve private ends at the publick cost.

379. Government can never be well administered, but where those intrusted make conscience of well discharging their places.

380. QUALIFICATIONS.] Five things are requisite to a good officer; ability, clean hands, dispatch, patience, and impartiality.

381. CAPACITY.] He that understands not his employment, whatever else he knows, must be unfit for it; and the publick suffer by his inexpertness.

382. They

382. They that are able, should be just too; or the government may be the worse for their capacity.

-383. CLEAN HANDS.] Covetousness in such men prompts them to prostitute the publick for gain.

384. The taking of a bribe or gratuity, should be punished with as severe penalties as the defrauding of the state.

385. Let men have sufficient salaries, and exceed them at their peril.

386. It is a dishonour to government, that its officers should live of benevolence; as it ought to be infamous for officers to dishonour the publick, by being twice paid for the same business.

387. But to be paid, and not do business, is rank oppression.

388. DISPATCH.] Dispatch is a great and good quality in an officer; where duty, not gain, excites it. But of this too many make their private market, and overplus to their wages. Thus the salary is for *doing*, and the bribe for *dispatching* the business: as if business could be *done* before it were *dispatched*: or they were to be paid apart; one by the government, the other by the party.

389. *Dispatch* is as much the duty of an officer, as doing; and very much the honour of the government he serves.

390. *Delays* have been more injurious than direct *injustice*.

391. They too often *starve* those they dare not *deny*.

392. The very winner is made a loser, because he pays *twice* for his *own*; like those that purchase estates mortgaged *before* to the *full value*.

393. Our law says well, 'To delay *justice*, is *injustice*.'

394. Not to *have* a right, and not to *come at it*, differs little.

395. Refusal, or dispatch, is the duty and wisdom of a good officer.

396. PATIENCE.] Patience is a virtue every-where; but it shines with greatest lustre in the men of government.

397. Some are so proud or testy, they will not *bear* what they should *redress*.

398. Others so weak, they *sink*, or *burst*, under the weight of their office, though they can lightly *run away* with the *salary* of it.

399. Business can never be well *done*, that is not well *understood*: which cannot be, without patience.

400. It is cruelty, indeed, not to give the unhappy an *bearing*, whom we ought to *help*: but it is the top of oppression, to *brow-beat* the humble and modest miserable, when they seek relief.

401. Some, it is true, are unreasonable in their desires and hopes: but then we should inform, not rail at and reject them.

402. It is therefore as great an instance of wisdom, as a man in business can give, to be *patient* under the *impertinences* and *contradictions* that attend it.

403. *Method* goes far to prevent trouble in business: for it makes the task easy, hinders confusion, saves abundance of time, and instructs those that have business depending, what to do, and what to hope.

404. IMPARTIALITY.] Impartiality, though it be the last, is not the least part of the character of a good magistrate.

405. It is noted as a fault, in holy writ, even to regard the *poor* in *judgment*: how much more the *rich*?

406. If our *compassions* must not sway us; less should our fears, profits, or prejudices.

407. Justice is justly represented blind, because she sees no difference in the parties concerned.

408. She has but *one scale* and *weight*, for rich and poor, great and small.

409. Her sentence is not guided by the *person*, but the *cause*.

410. The impartial judge, in judgment, knows nothing but the *law*; the prince, *no more* than the peasant;
his

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his kindred, than a stranger. Nay, his enemy is sure to be upon equal terms with his friend, when he is upon the bench.

411. Impartiality is the life of justice, as that is of government.

412. Nor is it only a benefit to the state, for private families cannot subsist comfortably without it.

413. Parents that are *partial*, are ill obeyed by their children; and partial *masters* not better served by their *servants*.

414. Partiality is always indirect, if not dishonest: for it shews a bias, where reason would have none; if not an injury, which justice every where forbids.

415. As it makes favourites without reason, so it uses no reason in judging of actions: confirming the proverb, 'The crow thinks her own bird the fairest.'

416. What some see to be no fault in one, they will have criminal in another.

417. Nay, how ugly do our failings look to us in the persons of others; which yet we see not in ourselves.

418. And but too common it is, for some people not to know their own *maxims* and *principles* in the mouths of other men, when they give occasion to use them.

419. Partiality corrupts our judgment of persons and things, of ourselves and others.

420. It contributes more than any thing to factions in the government, and feuds in families.

421. It is a prodigal passion, that seldom returns till it is hunger-bit, and disappointments bring it within bounds.

422. And yet we may be indifferent, to a fault.

423. INDIFFERENCY.] Indifference is good in judgment, but bad in relation, and stark naught in religion.

424. And even in judgment, our indifferency must be to the persons, not causes; for none, to be sure, is right,

425. NEUTRALITY.] Neutrality is something else than indifferency: and yet of kin, to it too.

426. A

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426. A judge ought to be indifferent; and yet he cannot be said to be neutral.

427. The one being to be *even* in judgment, and the other not to *meddle* at all.

428. And where it is lawful, to be sure, it is best to be neutral.

429. He that espouses parties, can hardly divorce himself from their fate; and more *fall* with their party, than *rise* with it.

430. A wife neuter joins with neither; but uses both, as his honest interest leads him.

431. A *neuter* only has room to be a *peace-maker*: for being of neither side, he has the means of mediating a reconciliation of both.

432. A PARTY.] And yet where *right* or *religion* gives a call, a neuter must be a coward or an hypocrite.

433. In such cases, we should never be backward; nor yet mistaken.

434. When our right or religion is in question, then is the fittest time to assert it.

435. Nor must we always be neutral, where our neighbour is concerned: for though *meddling* is a fault, *helping* is a duty.

436. We have a *call* to do good, as often as we have the *power* and *occasion*.

437. If heathens could say, 'We are not born for ourselves;' surely Christians should practise it.

438. They are taught so by *his* example, as well as doctrine, from whom they have borrowed their name.

439. OSTENTATION.] Do what good thou canst unknown; and be not vain of what ought rather to be felt than seen.

440. The humble, in the parable of the day of judgment, *forgot* their good works, "Lord, when did we so and so?"

441. He that does good, for good's sake, seeks neither praise nor reward, though sure of both at last.

158 REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS.

442. COMPLETE VIRTUE.] Content not thyself that thou art virtuous in the general: for *one* link being wanting, the chain is defective.

443. Perhaps thou art rather *innocent* than *virtuous*, and owest more to thy *constitution*, than thy *religion*.

444. *Innocent*, is not to be guilty: but *virtuous*, is to overcome our evil inclinations.

445. If thou hast not conquered thyself in that which is thy *own particular* weakness, thou hast no title to virtue, though thou art free of other mens.

446. For a covetous man to inveigh against *prodigality*, an atheist against *idolatry*, a tyrant against *rebellion*, or a liar against *forgery*, and a drunkard against *intemperance*, is for the pot to call the kettle black.

447. Such reproof would have but little success; because it would carry but little authority with it.

448. If thou wouldst *conquer* thy weakness, thou must never *gratify* it.

449. No man is *compelled* to evil; his *consent only* makes it his.

450. It is no sin to be tempted, but to be overcome.

451. What man, in his right mind, would conspire his own hurt? Men are beside themselves, when they transgress their convictions.

452. If thou wouldst not sin, do not *desire*; and if thou wouldst not lust, do not *embrace* the temptation: no, not *look* at it, nor *think* of it.

453. Thou wouldst take much pains to save thy body: take some, prithee, to save thy soul.

454. RELIGION.] Religion is the *fear* of *God*, and its demonstration *good works*; and *faith* is the root of both: "For without faith we cannot please God," nor can we *fear* what we do not *believe*.

455. The devils also believe and know abundance: but in this is the difference, their faith works not by love, nor their knowledge by obedience; and therefore they are never the better for them. And if ours be such, we shall be of their church, not of Christ's: for as the head is, so must the body be.

456. He

456. He was holy, humble, harmless, meek, merciful, &c, when among us; to teach us what we should be, when he was gone: and yet he is among us still, and in us too, a living and perpetual preacher of the same grace, by his spirit in our consciences.

457. A minister of the gospel ought to be one of *Christ's* making, if he would pass for one of *Christ's* ministers.

458. And if he be one of his making, he knows and does, as well as believes.

459. That minister, whose life is not the model of his doctrine, is a babbler rather than a preacher, a quack rather than a physician of value.

460. Of old time, they were made ministers by the *Holy Ghost*: and the more that is an ingredient now, the fitter they are for that work.

461. Running streams are not so apt to corrupt; nor itinerant, as settled preachers: but they are not to run before they are sent.

462. As they freely receive from Christ, so they give.

463. They will not make that a trade, which they know ought not, in conscience, to be one.

464. Yet there is no fear of their living, that design not to live by it.

465. The humble and true teacher meets with more than he expects.

466. He accounts content with godliness great gain, and therefore seeks not to make a *gain of godliness*.

467. As the ministers of Christ are made by him, and are like him, so they beget people into the same likeness.

468. To be like Christ, then, is to be a Christian. And regeneration is the only way to the kingdom of God, which we pray for.

469. Let us to-day, therefore, hear his voice, and not harden our hearts; who speaks to us many ways. In the *Scriptures*, in our *hearts*, by his *servants*, and *providences*: and the sum of all is *holiness* and *charity*.

470. St. James gives a short draught of the matter, but very full and reaching, "Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father, is this, to visit the
" father-

“ fatherless and the widows in their affliction, and to keep themselves unspotted from the world.” Which is comprized in these two words, *charity* and *piety*.

471. They that truly make these their *aim*, will find them their *attainment*; and with them, the peace that follows so excellent a condition.

472. Amuse not thyself, therefore, with the numerous opinions of the world, nor value thyself upon *verbal orthodoxy*, *philosophy*, or thy *skill* in *tongues*, or *knowledge* of the *fathers*; (too much the business and vanity of the world) but in this rejoice, “ That thou knowest God, that is the Lord, who exerciseth loving kindness, and judgment, and righteousness in the earth.”

473. Public worship is very commendable, if well performed. We owe it to God and good example. But we must know, that God is not tied to time or place, who is every-where at the same time; and this we shall know, as far as we are capable, if where-ever we are, our desires are to be with him.

474. *Serving God*, people generally confine to the *acts* of *publick* and *private worship*: and those the more zealous do often repeat, in hopes of acceptance.

475. But if we consider that God is an *infinite spirit*, and, as such, every-where; and that our Saviour has taught us, that he will be worshipped in *spirit* and in *truth*; we shall see the shortness of such a notion.

476. For *servng God* concerns the frame of our spirits, in the whole course of our lives; in every occasion we have, in which we may shew our love to his law.

477. For as men in battle are continually in the way of shot, so we, in this world, are ever within the reach of temptation: and herein do we *serve* God, if we *avoid* what we are *forbid*, as well as *do* what he *commands*.

478. God is better served in resisting a temptation to evil, than in many formal prayers.

479. This is but twice or thrice a day: but that every hour and moment of the day. So much more is our
continual

continual watch, than our evening and morning devotion.

480. Wouldst thou, then, serve God? Do not that *alone*, which thou wouldst not that another should see thee do.

481. Do not take God's name in vain, or disobey thy parents, or wrong thy neighbour, or commit adultery, even in thine heart.

482. Neither be vain, lascivious, proud, drunken, revengeful, or angry: nor lie, detract, backbite, overreach, oppress, deceive, or betray: but watch vigorously against all temptations to these things; as knowing that God is present, the overseer of all thy ways and most inward thoughts, and the avenger of his own law upon the disobedient, and thou wilt acceptably serve God.

483. Is it not reason, if we expect the acknowledgments of those to whom we are bountiful, that we should reverently pay ours to God, our most munificent and constant benefactor?

484. The world represents a rare and sumptuous palace; mankind, the great family in it; and God, the mighty Lord and Master of it.

485. We are all sensible what a stately seat it is: the heavens adorned with so many glorious luminaries; and the earth with groves, plains, valleys, hills, fountains, ponds, lakes, and rivers; and variety of fruits, and creatures for food, pleasure, and profit. In short, how noble an house he keeps, and the plenty, and variety, and excellency of his table: his orders, seasons, and suitableness of every time and thing. But we must be as sensible, or at least ought to be, what careless and idle servants we are, and how short and disproportionate our behaviour is to his bounty and goodness: how long he bears, how often he reprieves and forgives us: who, notwithstanding our breach of promises, and repeated neglects, has not yet been provoked to break up house, and send us to shift for ourselves. Should not this great goodness raise a due sense in us of our undutifulness, and a resolution to alter our course, and mend

our manners; that we may be for the future more worthy communicants at our Master's good and great table? Especially since it is not more certain that we deserve his displeasure, than that we shall feel it, if we continue to be unprofitable servants.

486. But though God has replenished this world with abundance of good things for man's life and comfort, yet they are all but imperfect goods. He only is the perfect good to whom they point. But, alas! men cannot see him *for* them; though they should always see him *in* them.

487. I have often wondered at the unaccountableness of man in this, among other things; that though he loves changes so well, he should care so little to hear or think of his last, great, and *best* change too, if he pleases.

488. Being, as to our bodies, composed of *changeable elements*, we, with the world, are made up of and subsist by *revolution*: but our souls being of another and nobler nature, we should seek our rest in a more enduring habitation.

489. The truest end of life, is to know the life that *never* ends.

490. He that makes this his care, will find it his crown at last.

491. Life, else, were a misery, rather than a pleasure; a judgment, not a blessing.

492. For to know, regret, and resent; to desire, hope, and fear *more* than a beast, and not live *beyond* him, is to make a man *less* than a beast.

493. It is the amends of a short and troublesome life, that *doing well*, and *suffering ill*, entitles man to one *longer* and *better*.

494. This ever raises the good man's hope, and gives him tastes beyond the other world.

495. As it is his aim, so none else can hit the mark.

496. Many make it their speculation, but it is the good man's practice.

497. His

497. His work keeps pace with his life, and so leaves nothing to be done when he dies.

498. And he that lives to live for ever, never fears dying.

499. Nor can the means be terrible to him, that heartily believes the end.

500. For though death be a dark passage, it leads to immortality; and that is recompence enough for suffering of it.

501. And yet faith lights us, even through the grave; being the evidence of things not seen.

502. And this is the comfort of the good, that the grave cannot hold them, and that they live as soon as they die.

503. For death is no more than a turning of us over from time to eternity.

504. Nor can there be a revolution without it; for it supposes the dissolution of one form, in order to the succession of another.

505. Death, then, being the way and condition of life, we cannot love to live, if we cannot bear to die.

506. Let us, then, not cozen ourselves with the shells and husks of things; nor prefer form to power, nor shadows to substance: pictures of bread will not satisfy hunger, nor those of devotion please God.

507. This world is a form; our bodies are forms; and no visible acts of devotion can be without forms. But yet the less form in religion the better, since God is a Spirit: for the more *mental* our worship, the more *adequate* to the *nature* of God; the more *silent*, the more suitable to the language of a *spirit*.

508. Words are for others, not for ourselves: nor for God, who hears not as *bodies* do, but as *spirits* should.

509. If we would know this dialect, we must learn of the divine principle *in* us. As we hear the dictates of *that*, so God hears *us*.

510. There we may *see* him, too, in all his attributes; though but in little, yet as much as we can apprehend or bear: for as he is in *himself*, he is in-

comprehensible, and “dwelleth in that light no eye can approach.” But in his *image* we may behold his glory; enough to exalt our apprehensions of God, and to instruct us in that worship which pleaseth him.

511. Men may tire themselves in a labyrinth of search, and talk of God; but if we would *know* him *indeed*, it must be from the impressions we receive of him; and the softer our hearts are, the deeper and livelier those will be upon us.

512. If he has made us sensible of his justice, by his reproof; of his patience, by his forbearance; of his mercy, by his forgiveness; of his holiness, by the sanctification of our hearts through his Spirit; we have a grounded knowledge of God. This is experience, that speculation; this enjoyment, that report. In short, this is undeniable evidence, with the realities of religion, and will stand all winds and weathers.

513. As our faith, so our devotoin, should be lively. Cold meat will not serve at those repasts.

514. It is a coal from God’s altar must kindle our fire: and without fire, true fire, no acceptable sacrifice.

515. “Open thou my lips, and then,” said the royal prophet, “my mouth shall praise God.” But not till then.

516. The preparation of the heart, as well as answer of the tongue, is of the Lord: and to have it, our prayers must be powerful, and our worship grateful.

517. Let us chuse, therefore, to commune where there is the warmest sense of religion; where devotion exceeds formality, and practice most corresponds with profession; and where there is, at least, as much charity as zeal: for where this society is to be found, there shall we find the church of God.

518. As good, so *ill* men, are all of a church; and every body knows who must be head of it.

519. The *bumble, meek, merciful, just, pious, and devout* souls, are every where of *one religion*; and when death has taken off the mask, they will know one another,

other, though the diverse liveries they wear here, make them strangers.

520. *Great allowances* are to be made for *education* and *personal weaknesses*: but it is a rule with me, that man is truly religious, that loves the persuasion he is of for the *piety*, rather than the *ceremony* of it.

521. They that have one *end*, can hardly disagree when they *meet*. At least their concern in the greater, moderates their value and difference about the lesser things.

522. It is a sad reflection, that many men hardly have *any religion at all*; and most men have none of *their own*: for that which is the religion of their education, and not of their judgment, is the religion of another, and not theirs.

523. To have religion upon authority, and not upon conviction, is like a *finger-watch*, to be set forwards or backwards, as he pleases that has it in keeping.

524. It is a preposterous thing, that men can venture their souls, where they will not venture their money: for they will take their *religion* upon trust, but not trust a *synod* about the *goodness* of *half a crown*.

525. They will follow their own judgment when their money is concerned, whatever they do for their souls.

526. But, to be sure, that religion cannot be right, that a man is the *worse* for having.

527. *No religion*, is better than an *unnatural one*.

528. Grace *perfects*, but never *sours* or *spoils* nature.

529. To be *unnatural* in defence of *grace*, is a contradiction.

530. Hardly any thing looks worse, than to defend religion by ways that shew it has no *credit* with us.

531. A *devout* man is one thing, a *stickler* is quite another.

532. When our minds exceed their just bounds, we must needs discredit what we would recommend.

533. To be *furios* in religion, is to be *irreligiously* religious.

534. If he, that is without bowels, is not a man; how, then, can he be a Christian.

535. It were better to be of *no* church, than to be bitter for *any*.

536. Bitterness comes very near to enmity, and that is *Beelzebub*; because the perfection of wickedness.

537. A good end cannot sanctify evil means; nor must we ever do evil, that good may come of it.

538. Some folk think they may *scold, rail, bate, rob,* and *kill* too; so it be but *for God's sake*.

539. But nothing in us, *unlike* him, can *please* him.

540. It is as great presumption to send our *passions* upon *God's errands*, as it is to *palliate* them with *God's name*.

541. Zeal dropt in charity, is good; without it, good for *nothing*: for it devours all it comes near.

542. They must first judge themselves, that presume to censure others: and such will not be apt to overshoot the mark.

543. We are too ready to retaliate, rather than forgive, or gain by love and information.

544. And yet we could hurt no man that we believe *loves* us.

545. Let us, then, try what love will do: for if men do once see we *love* them, we should soon find they would not harm us.

546. Force may subdue, but love gains: and he that forgives *first*, wins the laurel.

547. If I am *even* with my enemy, the debt is paid: but if I *forgive* it, I oblige him for ever.

548. Love is the hardest lesson in Christianity; but, for that reason, it should be most our care to learn it. *Difficilia quæ pulchra*.

549. It is a severe rebuke upon us, that God makes *us* so many allowances, and we make so few to our *neighbour*: as if *charity* had nothing to do with *religion*; or *love* with *faith*, that ought to work by it.

550. I find all sorts of people *agree*, whatsoever were their animosities, when humbled by the approaches of death: then they *forgive*, then they *pray for*, and *love*
one

one another: which shews us, that it is not our reason, but our passion, that makes and holds up the feuds that reign among men in their health and fulness. They therefore, that live nearest to that which they should die, must certainly live best.

551. Did we believe a final reckoning and judgment, or did we think enough of what we do believe, we would allow more love in religion than we do; since *religion itself* is nothing else but *love to God and man*.

552. "He that lives in *love* lives in *God*," says the beloved disciple: and, to be sure, a man can live nowhere *better*.

553. It is most reasonable men should value that benefit which is most durable. Now tongues shall cease, and prophecy fail, and faith shall be consumed in sight, and hope in enjoyment; but *love remains*.

554. Love is indeed heaven upon earth; since heaven above would not be heaven without it: for where there is not *love*, there is *fear*: but "*perfect love casts out fear*." And yet we naturally *fear most* to offend what we *most love*.

555. What we love, we will hear; what we love, we will trust; and what we love, we will serve, aye, and suffer for too. "If you love me," says our blessed Redeemer, "keep my commandments." Why? Why then he will love *us*; then we shall be his *friends*; then he will send us the *Comforter*; then whatever we ask, we shall receive; and then, where *he* is, *we* shall be also, and that *for ever*. Behold the fruits of *love*, the power, virtue, benefit and beauty of *love*!

556. Love is *above all*; and when it *prevails* in us all, we shall all be *lovely*, and in *love* with *God*, and *one* with *another*. Amen.



M O R E
F R U I T S
O F
S O L I T U D E :
B E I N G
T H E S E C O N D P A R T
O F R E F L E C T I O N S a n d M A X I M S
O N T H E
C O N D U C T o f H U M A N L I F E .

T H E
I N T R O D U C T I O N T O T H E R E A D E R .

THE title of this treatise shews there was a former of the same nature; and the author hopes he runs no hazard in recommending both to his reader's perusal.

He is well aware of the low reckoning the labours of *indifferent* authors are under, at a time when hardly any thing passes for current, that is not calculated to *flatter* the sharpness of contending parties. He is also sensible, that books grow a very drug, where they cannot raise and support their credit by their own usefulness; and how far this will be able to do it, he knows not; yet he thinks himself tolerably safe in making it publick, in three respects,

First,

INTRODUCTION TO THE READER.

First, That the purchase is small, and the time but little, that is requisite to read it.

Next, Though some men should not find it relished high enough for their finer wits, or warmer palates, it may not perhaps be useless to those of lower flights, and who are less engaged in publick heats.

Lastly, The author honestly aims at as general a benefit as the thing will bear: to *youth* especially, whether he hits the mark or not, and that without the least ostentation, or any private regards.

Let not envy mis-interpret his intention, and he will be accountable for all other faults.

REFLEC-

REFLECTIONS

AND

MAXIMS, &c.

PART II.

THE RIGHT MORALIST.

1. **A** RIGHT moralist is a great and good man; but for that reason, he is rarely to be found,

2. There are a sort of people that are fond of the character, who, in my opinion, have but little title to it.

3. They think it enough, not to defraud a man of his pay, or betray his friend; but never consider, that the law forbids the one at his peril, and that virtue is seldom the reason of the other.

4. But certainly he that covets, can no more be a moral man, than he that steals; since *he* does so in his mind. Nor can he be one that robs his neighbour of his credit, or that craftily undermines him of his trade or office.

5. If a man pays his taylor, but debauches his wife, is he a current moralist?

6. But what shall we say of the man that rebels against his father, is an ill husband, or an abusive neighbour; one that is lavish of his time, of his health, and of his estate, in which his family is so nearly concerned? Must he go for a right moralist, because he pays his rent well?

7. I would ask some of those men of morals, Whether he that robs God and himself too, though he should not defraud his neighbour, be the moral man?

8. Do

8. Do I owe myself nothing? And do I not owe all to God? And if paying what we owe, make the moral man, is it not fit we should begin to render our dues where we owe our very beginning; aye, our *all*?

9. The complete moralist begins with *God*; he gives him his due, his heart, his love, his service; the bountiful giver of his well-being, as well as being.

10. He that lives without a sense of this dependency and obligation, cannot be a moral man, because he does not know his returns of love and obedience, as becomes an honest and a sensible *creature*: which very term implies he is not *his own*; and it cannot be very honest to misemploy another's goods.

11. But how can there be no debt, but to a fellow-creature? Or, will our exactness in paying those dribbling ones, while we neglect our weightier obligations, cancel the bonds we lie under, and render us right and thorough moralists?

12. As *judgments* are paid before *bonds*, and *bonds* before *bills* or *book-debts*; so the moralist considers his obligations according to their several *dignities*.

In the first place, *him* to whom he owes himself. Next, *himself*, in his health and livelihood. Lastly, his other obligations, whether *rational* or *pecuniary*; doing to others, to the extent of his ability, as he would have them do unto him.

13. In short, the *moral man* is he that *loves God above all*, and *his neighbour as himself*, which fulfils both tables at once.

THE WORLD'S ABLE MAN.

14. It is by some thought the character of an able man, to be *dark*, and not *understood*. But I am sure that is not fair play.

15. If he be so by *silence*, it is better: but if by *disguises*, it is insincere and hateful.

16. Secrecy is one thing; false lights are another.

17. The honest man, that is rather free than open, is ever to be preferred; especially when *sense* is at helm.

18. The

18. The glorying of the other humour, is in a vice: for it is not human to be *cold, dark, and unconvertible*. I was going to say, they are like *pick-pockets* in a crowd, where a man must ever have his hand on his purse; or as *spies* in a garrison, that, if not prevented, betray it.

19. They are the reverse of human nature: and yet this is the present world's *wise man* and politician: excellent qualities for *Lapland!* where, they say, witches, though not many conjurers, dwell.

20. Like *bigwaymen*, that rarely rob without *vizards*, or in the same wigs and clothes, but have a dress for every enterprize.

21. At best, he may be a *cunning-man*, which is a sort of *lurcker* in politicks.

22. He is never too hard for the *wise man* upon the square; for that is out of his element, and puts him quite by his skill. Nor are wise men ever caught by him, but when they *trust* him.

23. But as *cold* and *close* as he seems, he can and will please all, if he *gets* by it; though it should neither please God nor himself at bottom.

24. He is for every cause that brings him gain: but implacable, if disappointed of success.

25. And what he cannot hinder, he will be sure to spoil, by over-doing it.

26. None so zealous then as he, for that which he cannot abide.

27. What is it he will not, or cannot do, to hide his true sentiments!

28. For his interest, he refuses no side or party; and will take the wrong by the hand, when the other will not do, with as good a grace as the right.

29. Nay, he commonly chuses the worst, because that brings the best bribe: his cause being ever money.

30. He sails with all winds, and is never out of his way, where any thing is to be had.

31. A *privateer*, indeed; and every-where a bird of prey.

32. True to nothing, but himself, and false to all persons and parties, to serve his own turn.

33. Talk

33. Talk with him as often as you please, he will never pay you in good coin; for it is either false or clipped.

34. But to give a *false reason* for any thing, let my reader never learn of him; no more than to give a brass half-crown for a good one: not only because it is not *true*, but because it *deceives* the person to whom it is given; which I take to be an *immorality*.

35. *Silence* is much more preferable; for it saves the secret, as well as the person's honour.

36. Such as give themselves the latitude of saying what they do not *mean*, come to be *errant-jockeys* at more things than one: but in religion and politicks, it is pernicious.

37. To hear two men talk the reverse of their own sentiments, with all the good breeding and appearance of friendship imaginable, on purpose to *cozen* or *pump* each other, is, to a man of *virtue* and *honour*, one of the melancholiest, as well as most nauseous things in the world.

38. But that it should be the character of an able man, is to *disinberit wisdom*, and paint out our degeneracy to the life, by setting up *fraud*, an errant impostor, in her room.

39. The trial of skill between these two is, who shall believe least of what the other says: and he that has the weakness, or good-nature, to give out first, (*viz.* to believe any thing the other says) is looked upon to be *tricked*.

40. I cannot see the *policy*, any more than the necessity, of a man's *mind* always giving the lie to his mouth; or his *mouth* ever giving false alarms of his mind: for no man can be long believed, that teaches all men to distrust him: and since the ablest have sometimes need of credit, where lies the advantage of their politick cant or banter upon mankind?

41. I remember a passage of one of queen Elizabeth's great men, as advice to his friend; 'The advantage,' says he, 'I had upon others at court, was, that I always spoke as I *thought*; which being not believed by them, I both

‘ I both preserved a *good conscience*, and suffered no *damage* from that freedom:’ which, as it shows the vice to be older than our times, so that gallant man’s integrity to be the best way of avoiding it.

42. To be sure it is wise, as well as honest, neither to flatter other mens sentiments, nor dissemble, and less contradict, our own.

43. To hold one’s tongue, or speak truth, or talk only of indifferent things, is the fairest conversation.

44. Women that rarely go abroad without vizard masks, have none of the best reputation. But when we consider, what all this art and disguise are for, it equally heightens the wise man’s wonder and aversion: perhaps it is to betray a father, a brother, a master, a friend, a neighbour, or one’s own party.

45. A fine conquest! what noble Grecians and Romans abhorred: as if government could not subsist without knavery, and that knaves were the *usefullest* props to it; though the basest, as well as greatest, perversions of the ends of it.

46. But that it should become a *maxim*, shows but too grossly the corruptions of the times.

47. I confess I have heard the stile of an *useful knave*, but ever took it to be a silly or a knavish saying; at least an excuse for knavery.

48. It is as reasonable to think a *whore* makes the *best wife*, as a *knave* the *best officer*.

49. Besides, employing knaves *encourages* knavery, instead of punishing it; and *alienates* the reward of virtue. Or, at least, must make the world believe the country yields not honest men enough, able to serve her.

50. Art thou a magistrate? Prefer such as have clean characters where they live; and of estates, to secure a just discharge of their trusts; that are under no temptation to strain points for a fortune: for sometimes such may be found, sooner than they are employed.

51. Art thou a private man? Contract thy acquaintance in a narrow compass, and chuse those for the subjects of it, that are men of principles; such as will make full stops, where honour will not lead them on;
and

and that had rather bear the disgrace of not being *thorough-paced* men, than forfeit their peace and reputation by a base compliance.

THE WISE MAN.

52. The wise man governs himself by the reason of his case, and because what he does is best: best, in a moral and prudent, not a sinister sense.

53. He proposes just ends, and employs the fairest and probablest means and methods to attain them.

54. Though you cannot always penetrate his design, or his reasons for it, yet you shall ever see his actions of a piece, and his performances like a workman: they will bear the touch of wisdom and honour, as often as they are tried.

55. He scorns to serve himself by *indirect* means, or to be an interloper in government; since just enterprises never want any just ways to succeed them.

56. To do evil, that good may come of it, is for *bunglers*, in politicks as well as morals.

57. Like those surgeons, that will *cut off* an arm they cannot *cure*, to hide their ignorance and save their credit.

58. The wise man is cautious, but not cunning; judicious, but not crafty; making virtue the measure of using his excellent understanding in the conduct of his life.

59. The wise man is equal, ready, but not *officious*; has in every thing an eye to *sure-footing*: he offends no body, nor easily is offended; and always willing to *compound* for wrongs, if not *forgive* them.

60. He is never captious, nor critical; hates *banter* and *jest*s; he may be pleasant, but not *light*; he never deals but in substantial ware, and leaves the rest for the toy-pates, (or shops) of the world; which are so far from being his business, that they are not so much as his diversion.

61. He is always for some solid good, *civil* or *moral*: as, to make his country more virtuous; preserve her

her peace and liberty; employ her poor; improve land; advance trade; suppress vice; encourage industry, and all mechanick knowledge; and that they should be the care of the government, and the blessing and praise of the people.

62. To conclude, he is *just*, and fears *God*, hates *covetousness*, and eschews *evil*, and loves his *neighbour* as himself.

OF THE GOVERNMENT OF THOUGHTS.

63. Man being made a reasonable and so a *thinking* creature; there is nothing more worthy of his being, than the right direction and employment of his *thoughts*; since upon this depends both his usefulness to the publick, and his own present and future benefit, in all respects.

64. The consideration of this, has often obliged me to lament the unhappiness of mankind, that, through too great a *mixture* and *confusion* of *thoughts*, have been hardly able to make a right or mature judgment of things.

65. To this is owing the various uncertainty and confusion we see in the world, and the intemperate *zeal* that occasions them.

66. To this, also, is to be attributed the imperfect knowledge we have of things, and the slow progress we make in attaining to a better: like the children of Israel, that were forty years upon their journey, from Egypt to Canaan, which might have been performed in less than one.

67. In fine, it is to this we ought to ascribe, if not all, at least most of the infelicities we labour under.

68. Clear, therefore, thy *head*, and rally and manage thy thoughts rightly, and thou wilt save time, and see and do thy business well; for thy judgment will be *distinct*, thy mind *free*, and thy faculties *strong* and *regular*.

69. Always remember to bound thy thoughts to the *present* occasion.

70. If it be thy *religious* duty, suffer nothing else to share in them. And if any *civil* or *temporal* affair, observe the same caution, and thou wilt be a *whole* man to every thing, and do twice the business in the same time.

71. If any point *over-labours* thy mind, divert and relieve it by some other subject, of a more *sensible* or *manual* nature, rather than what may affect the *understanding*: for this were to write one thing upon another, which blots out our former impressions, or renders them illegible.

72. They that are least *divided* in their care, always give the best account of their business.

73. As, therefore, thou art always to pursue the present subject, till thou hast mastered it, so if it fall out that thou hast more affairs than one upon thy hand, be sure to prefer that which is of most moment, and will least wait thy leisure.

74. He that judges not well of the importance of his affairs, though he may be always busy, he must make but a small progress.

75. But make not more business necessary than is so; and rather lessen than augment work for thyself.

76. Nor yet be *over-eager* in pursuit of any thing; for the mercurial too often happen to leave judgment behind them, and sometimes make work for repentance.

77. He that over-runs his business, leaves it for him that follows more leisurely to take it up; which has often proved a profitable harvest to them that never sowed.

78. It is the advantage that *flower* tempers have upon the men of *lively* parts, that though they do not *lead*, they will *follow well*, and *glean clean*.

79. Upon the whole matter, employ thy thoughts as thy business requires, and let that have place according to merit and urgency; giving every thing a review and due digestion, and thou wilt prevent many errors and vexations, as well as save much time to thyself, in the course of thy life.

Or

OF ENVY.

80. It is the mark of an *ill* nature, to lessen *good* actions, and aggravate *ill* ones.

81. Some men do as much begrudge others a good name, as they *want* one themselves; and perhaps that is the reason of it.

82. But certainly they are in the wrong, that can think *they* are lessened, because others have their due.

83. Such people generally have less merit than ambition, that covet the reward of other mens; and, to be sure, a very ill nature, that will rather rob others of their due, than allow them their praise.

84. It is more an error of our *will*, than our judgment: for we know it to be an effect of our *passion*, not our reason; and therefore we are the more culpable in our partial estimates.

85. It is as envious as unjust, to under-rate another's actions, where their intrinsic worth recommends them to disengaged minds.

86. Nothing shews more the folly, as well as fraud of man, than clipping of merit and reputation.

87. And as some think it an allay to themselves, that others have their right; so they know no end of pilfering, to raise their own credit.

88. This envy, is the child of pride; and *mis-gives*, rather than *mis-takes*.

89. It will have charity to be ostentation; sobriety, covetousness; humility, craft; bounty, popularity. In short, virtue must be design, and religion, only interest. Nay, the best of qualities must not pass without a *but* to allay their merit, and abate their praise. Basest of tempers! and they that have it, the worst of men!

90. But just and noble minds *rejoice* in other mens success, and help to augment their praise.

91. And, indeed, they are not without a *love* to virtue, that take a satisfaction in seeing her *rewarded*;

and such deserve to *share* her character, that do abhor to *lessen* it.

OF MAN'S LIFE.

92. Why is man less durable than the works of his hands, but because *this is not* the place of his *rest*?

93. And it is a great and just reproach upon him, that he should fix his mind where he cannot stay *himself*.

94. Were it not more his wisdom to be concerned about those works that will *go with* him, and erect a mansion for him, where time has power neither over him nor it?

95. It is a sad thing, for man so often to miss his way to his best, as well as most lasting home.

OF AMBITION.

96. They that soar too high, often fall hard; which makes a low and level dwelling preferable.

97. The tallest trees are most in the power of the winds; and ambitious men of the blasts of fortune.

98. They are most seen and observed, and most envied: least *quiet*, but most *talked of*, and not often to their advantage.

99. Those builders had need of a good foundation, that lie so much exposed to weather.

100. Good works are a rock, that will support their credit: but ill ones a sandy foundation, that yields to calamities.

101. And truly they ought to expect no pity in their fall, who, when in power, had no bowels for the unhappy.

102. The *worst* of distempers; always craving and thirsty, restless and hated: a perfect delirium in the mind: insufferable in success, and in disappointments most revengeful.

OF PRAISE OR APPLAUSE.

103. We are apt to *love* praise, but not to *deserve* it.

104. But if we would deserve it, we must love *virtue* more than that.

105. As there is no passion in us sooner moved, or more deceivable, so for that reason there is none over which we ought to be more *watchful*, whether we give or receive it: for if we give it, we must be sure to mean it, and measure it too.

106. If we are penurious, it shews emulation; if we exceed, flattery.

107. Good measure belongs to good actions; more looks nauseous, as well as insincere: besides, it is a persecuting of the meritorious, who are out of countenance to *bear*, what they *deserve*.

108. It is much easier for him to *merit* applause, than *bear* of it: and he never doubts himself more, or the person that gives it, than when he hears *so much* of it.

109. But, to say true, there needs not many cautions on this hand; since the world is rarely just *enough* to the deserving.

110. However, we cannot be too circumspect how we receive praise: for if we contemplate ourselves in a false glass, we are sure to be mistaken about our dues: and because we are too apt to believe what is pleasing, rather than what is true, we may be too easily swelled beyond our just proportion, by the windy compliments of men.

111. Make ever, therefore, allowances for what is said on such occasions; or thou exposest, as well as deceivest thyself.

112. For an over-value of ourselves, gives us but a dangerous security in many respects.

113. We expect more than belongs to us; take all that is given us, though never meant us; and fall out with those that are not as *full of us* as we are of ourselves.

182 REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS.

114. In short, it is a passion that abuses our judgment, and makes us both unsafe and ridiculous.

115. Be not fond, therefore, of praise; but seek virtue, that leads to it.

116. And yet no more lessen or dissemble thy merit, than over-rate it: for though humility be a virtue, an *affected* one is none.

OF CONDUCT IN SPEECH.

117. Inquire *often*, but judge *rarely*, and thou wilt not often be mistaken.

118. It is safer to learn, than teach; and he who conceals his opinion, has nothing to answer for.

119. Vanity or resentment often engage us, and it is two to one but we come off losers; for one shews a want of judgment and humility, as the other does of temper and discretion.

120. Not that I admire the reserved; for they are next to unnatural that are not communicable. But if reservedness be at any time a virtue, it is in throngs, or ill company.

121. Beware also of *affectation* in *speech*; it often *wrongs* matter, and ever shows a blind side.

122. Speak *properly*, and in as *few* words as you can, but always *plainly*: for the end of speech is not ostentation, but to be *understood*.

123. They that affect *words* more than *matter*, will dry up that little they have.

124. *Sense* never fails to give them that have it, *words enough* to make them understood.

125. But it too often happens in some conversations, as in *apothecaries-shops*, that those pots that are *empty*, or have things of small value in them, are as gaudily *dressed* and *flourished*, as those that are full of precious drugs.

126. This labouring of *slight matter* with flourished turns of expression, is fulsome; and worse than the modern imitation of tapestry, and East-India goods, in
stuff

stuffs and *linens*. In short, it is but *taudry* talk, and next to very trash.

UNION OF FRIENDS.

127. They that love *beyond* the world, cannot be *separated* by it.

128. Death cannot *kill* what *never dies*.

129. Nor can spirits ever be *divided*, that love and live in the same divine principle; the root and record of their friendship.

130. If *absence* be not death, neither is *theirs*.

131. Death is but crossing the *world*, as friends do the *seas*; they live in *one another* still.

132. For they must needs be *present*, that love and live in that which is *omnipresent*.

133. In this divine glass, they see face to face; and their converse is *free*, as well as *pure*.

134. This is the comfort of friends, that though they may be said to *die*, yet their friendship and society are, in the best sense, ever *present*, because *immortal*.

OF BEING EASY IN LIVING.

135. It is an happiness to be delivered from a curious mind, as well as from a dainty palate.

136. For it is not only a troublesome but slavish thing to be *nice*.

137. They narrow their own freedom and comforts, that make that requisite to enjoy them.

138. To be *easy* in living, is much of the pleasure of life: but *difficult* tempers will always *want* it.

139. A *careless* and *homely* breeding, is therefore preferable to one *nice* and *delicate*.

140. And he that is taught to live upon little, owes more to his father's *wisdom*, than he that has a great deal left him, does to his father's *care*.

141. Children cannot well be too hardily bred: for besides that it fits them to bear the roughest providences, it is more masculine, active and healthy.

142. Nay, it is certain, that the liberty of the mind is mightily preserved by it: for so it is *serv'd*, instead of being a servant, indeed a slave, to sensual delicacies.

143. As nature is soon answered, so are such satisfied.

144. The memory of the ancients is hardly in any thing more to be celebrated; than in a strict and useful institution of youth.

145. By labour they prevented luxury in young people, till wisdom and philosophy had taught them to resist and despise it.

146. It must be therefore a gross fault, to strive so hard for the pleasure of our bodies, and be so insensible and careless of the freedom of our souls.

OF MAN'S INCONSIDERATENESS AND PARTIALITY.

147. It is very observable, if our civil rights are invaded or encroached upon, we are mightily touched, and fill every place with our resentment and complaint; while we suffer ourselves, our better and nobler selves, to be the property and vassals of sin, the worst of invaders.

148. In vain do we expect to be delivered from such troubles, till we are delivered from the cause of them; our disobedience to God.

149. When he has his dues from us, it will be time enough for him to give us ours out of one another.

150. It is our great happiness, if we could understand it, that we meet with such checks in the career of our worldly enjoyments, lest we should forget the Giver, adore the gift, and terminate our felicity here, which is not man's ultimate bliss.

151. Our losses are often made *judgments* by our guilt, and *mercies* by our repentance.

152. Besides, it argues great folly in men, to let their satisfaction exceed the *true value* of any temporal matter: for disappointments are not always to be measured by the loss of the thing, but the *over-value* we put upon it.

153. And

153. And thus men improve their own miseries, for want of an equal and just estimate of what they enjoy or lose.

154. There lies a *proviso* upon every thing in this world, and we must observe it at our own peril, viz. *To love God above all, and act for judgment, the last I mean.*

OF THE RULE OF JUDGING.

155. In all things *reason* should prevail: it is quite another thing to be *stiff* than *steady* in opinion.

156. This may be reasonable, but that is ever *wilful*.

157. In such cases it always happens, that the clearer the argument, the greater the obstinacy, where the design is not to be convinced.

158. This is to value humour more than truth, and prefer a sullen pride to a reasonable submission.

159. It is the glory of a man to vail to truth; as it is the mark of a good nature to be *easily* intreated.

160. Beasts act by sense, man should by *reason*; else he is a greater beast than ever God made: and the proverb is verified, 'The corruption of the best things is the worst, and most offensive.'

161. A *reasonable opinion* must ever be in danger, where *reason* is not *judge*.

162. Though there is a regard due to education, and the tradition of our fathers, *truth* will ever deserve, as well as claim, the preference.

163. If, like Theophilus and Timothy, we have been brought up in the knowledge of the best things, it is our advantage: but neither they nor we lose by *trying* the truth; for so we learn their, as well as its, *intrinsic worth*.

164. Truth never lost ground by *inquiry*, because she is, *most* of all, *reasonable*.

165. Nor can that need *another* authority, that is *self-evident*.

166. If my own *reason* be on the side of a principle, with what can I dispute or withstand it?

167. And

167. And if men would once consider one another *reasonably*, they would either reconcile their differences, or more amicably maintain them.

168. Let that, therefore, be the standard, that has *most to say* for itself: though of that let *every man* be judge for himself.

169. *Reason*, like the *sun*, is *common* to all: and it is for want of *examining* all by the same light and measure, that we are not all of the same mind: for all have it to that end, though all do not *use* it so.

OF FORMALITY.

170. Form is good, but not formality.

171. In the use of the *best* of forms, there is too much of *that*, I fear.

172. It is absolutely necessary, that this distinction should go along with people in their devotion; for too many are apter to rest upon *what* they do, than *how* they do their duty.

173. If it were considered, that it is the *frame* of the *mind* that gives our performances *acceptance*, we would lay more stress on our inward *preparation* than our outward action.

OF THE MEAN NOTION WE HAVE OF GOD.

174. Nothing more shows the low condition man is fallen into, than the unfuitable notion we must have of God, by the ways we take to please him.

175. As if it availed any thing to him, that we performed so many *ceremonies* and external *forms* of devotion; who never meant more by them, than to try our obedience, and, through them, to shew us something more *excellent* and *durable* beyond them.

176. *Doing*, while we are *undoing*, is good for nothing.

177. Of what benefit is it to say our *prayers* regularly, go to *chureh*, receive the *sacraments*, and may be go to *confessions* too; *aye*, *feast* the priest, and give *alms*

alms to the poor, and yet *lie, swear, curse, be drunk, covetous, unclean, proud, revengeful, vain, and idle*, at the same time?

178. Can one excuse or balance the other? Or will God think himself well served, where his law is *violated*? Or well used, where there is so much more *shew* than substance?

179. It is a most dangerous error, for a man to think to excuse himself in the breach of a moral duty, by a *formal* performance of *positive worship*; and less, when of *human* invention.

180. Our blessed Saviour most rightly and clearly distinguished and determined this case, when he told the Jews, ‘ That they were his *mother, his brethren, and sisters*, who did the *will* of his Father.’

OF THE BENEFIT OF JUSTICE.

181. Justice is a great support of society, because an insurance to all men of their *property*: this violated, there is no security, which throws all into confusion to recover it.

182. An honest man is a fast *pledge* in dealing. A man is sure to *have it*, if it be *to be bad*.

183. Many are so, merely of *necessity*: others not so, only for the same reason: but *such* an honest man is not to be *thanked*; and such a *dishonest* man is to be *pitied*.

184. But he that is dishonest for gain, is next to a robber, and to be punished for example.

185. And indeed there are few dealers, but what are faulty; which makes trade *difficult*, and a great temptation to men of *virtue*.

186. It is not what they *should*, but what they *can* get: faults or delays must be concealed: big words given, where they are not deserved; and the ignorance or necessity of the buyer imposed upon, for unjust profit.

187. These are the men that keep their words for their own ends; and are only just for fear of the magistrate.

188 REFLECTIONS AND MAXIMS.

188. A *politick* rather than a moral honesty; a *constrained*, not a chosen justice: according to the proverb, ' *Patience per force, and thank you for nothing.*'

189. But of all injustice, that is the greatest, that passes under the name of *law*. A cut-purse in *Westminster-Hall* exceeds: for that advances injustice to oppression, where law is alleged for that which it should *punish*.

OF JEALOUSY.

190. The jealous are troublesome to others, but a torment to themselves.

191. Jealousy is a kind of *civil war* in the soul, where *judgment* and *imagination* are at perpetual *jars*.

192. This civil dissention in the mind, like that of the body *politick*, commits great disorders, and lays all waste.

193. Nothing stands safe in its way: nature, interest, religion, must yield to its fury.

194. It violates contracts, dissolves society, breaks wedlock, betrays friends and neighbours: no body is *good*, and every one is either doing or designing them a *mischief*.

195. It has a venom, that more or less wrankles where-ever it bites: and as it reports fancies for facts, so it disturbs its *own* house as often as other folks.

196. Its rise is *guilt* or *ill-nature*; and by reflection it thinks its own faults to be other mens, as he that is over-run with the jaundice takes others to be yellow.

197. A jealous man only sees his *own spectrum*, when he looks upon other men, and gives his character in theirs.

OF STATE,

198. I love service, but not state: one is useful, the other superfluous.

199. The trouble of this, as well as charge, is real; but the advantage only imaginary.

200. Besides, it helps to set us up *above* ourselves, and augments our temptation to disorder.

201. The least thing out of joint, or omitted, makes us uneasy; and we are ready to think ourselves ill served, about that which is of no real service at all: or so much better than other men, as we have the means of greater state.

202. But this is all for want of wisdom, which carries the truest and most forcible state along with it.

203. He that makes not himself cheap by indiscreet conversation, puts value enough upon himself everywhere.

204. The other is rather pageantry than state.

OF A GOOD SERVANT.

205. A true and a good servant are the same thing.

206. But no servant is true to his master, that defrauds him.

207. Now there are many ways of defrauding a master, as, of time, care, pains, respect, and reputation, as well as money.

208. He that neglects his work, robs his master, since he is fed and paid as if he did his best: and he that is not as diligent in the absence, as in the presence of his master, cannot be a *true* servant.

209. Nor is he a *true* servant, that buys *dear* to share in the *profit* with the *feller*.

210. Nor yet he that tells tales without-doors; or deals basely, in his master's name, with other people; or connives at others loiterings, wastings, or dishonourable reflections.

211. So that a *true* servant is diligent, secret, and respectful: more tender of his master's honour and interest, than of his own profit.

212. Such a servant deserves well; and, if *modest* under his merit, should liberally *feel it* at his master's hand.

OF

OF AN IMMODERATE PURSUIT OF THE WORLD.

213. It shews a depraved state of mind, to cark and care for that which does not *need*.

214. Some are as eager to be *rich*, as ever they were to *live*: for superfluity, as for subsistence.

215. But that plenty should augment *covetousness*, is a perversion of providence: and yet the generality are the *worse* for their *riches*.

216. But it is strange, that old men should excel: for generally money lies nearest them, that are nearest their graves: as if they would augment their love, in proportion to the little time they have left to enjoy it: and yet their pleasure is without enjoyment, since none *enjoy* what they do not *use*.

217. So that instead of learning to leave their great wealth easily, they hold the faster, because they *must* leave it: so fordid is the temper of some men.

218. Where charity keeps pace with gain, industry is blessed: but to slave to *get*, and keep it *fordidly*, is a sin against providence, a vice in government, and an injury to their neighbours.

219. Such are they as spend not one fifth of their income; and, it may be, give not one tenth of what they spend to the needy.

220. This is the *worst* sort of idolatry, because there can be no religion in it, nor ignorance pleaded in excuse of it; and that it wrongs other folks, that ought to have a share therein.

OF THE INTEREST OF THE PUBLICK IN OUR ESTATES.

221. Hardly any thing is given us for ourselves, but the publick may claim a share with us. But of all we call ours, we are most accountable to God, and the publick, for our estates: in this we are but stewards; and to hoard up all to ourselves, is great-injustice, as well as ingratitude.

222. If all men were so far tenants to the publick, that the superfluities of gain and expence were applied
to

to the exigencies thereof, it would put an end to taxes, leave never a beggar, and make the greatest bank for national trade in Europe.

223. It is a judgment upon us, as well as weakness, though we will not see it, to begin at the wrong end.

224. If the taxes we give are not to maintain *pride*, I am sure there would be less, if *pride* were made a tax to the government.

225. I confess I have wondered that so many *lawful* and *useful* things are excised by laws, and *pride* left to reign *free* over them and the publick.

226. But since people are more afraid of the laws of *man* than of *God*, because their punishment seems to be *nearest*; I know not how magistrates can be excused in their suffering such excess with impunity.

227. Our noble English *patriarchs*, as well as *patriots*, were so sensible of this evil, that they made several excellent laws, commonly called *sumptuary*, to forbid, at least *limit*, the *pride* of the people; which because the execution of them would be our interest and honour, their neglect must be our just reproach and loss.

228. It is but reasonable that the punishment of pride and excess should help to support the government; since it must otherwise inevitably be ruined by them.

229. but some say, 'It ruins *trade*, and will make the *poor* burdensome to the publick:' but if such trade, in consequence, ruins the kingdom, is it not time to ruin that *trade*? Is moderatoin no part of our duty, and temperance an enemy to government?

230. He is a *Judas*, that will get money by *any* thing.

231. To wink at a trade that effeminates the people, and invades the ancient discipline of the kingdom, is a crime capital, and to be severely punished, instead of being excused, by the magistrate.

232. Is there no better employment for the poor than *luxury*? Miserable nation!

233. What did they, *before* they fell into these forbidden methods? Is there not land enough in England
to

to cultivate, and more and better manufactures to be made?

234. Have we no room for them in our *plantations*, about things that may augment *trade*, without *luxury*?

235. In short, let *pride* pay, and *excess* be well excised: and if that will not cure the *people*, it will help to keep the *kingdom*.

THE VAIN MAN.

236. But a *vain* man is a *nauseous* creature: he is so full of *himself*, that he has no room for any thing else, be it ever so good or deserving.

237. It is *I*, at every turn, that does this, or can do that. And as he abounds in his comparisons, so he is sure to give himself the better of every body else; according to the proverb, "All his geese are swans."

238. They are certainly to be pitied, that can be so much mistaken at home.

239. And yet I have sometimes thought, that such people are, in a sort, happy, that nothing can put out of *countenance* with themselves, though they neither have, nor merit, other people's.

240. But, at the same time, one would wonder they should not *feel* the blows they give themselves, or get from others, for this intolerable and ridiculous temper, nor shew any concern at that, which makes others blush for, as well as at, them; viz. their unreasonable assurance.

241. To be a man's *own* fool is bad enough; but the *vain* man is *every body's*.

242. This silly disposition comes of a mixture of *ignorance*, *confidence*, and *pride*: and as there is more or less of the last, so it is more or less offensive, or entertaining.

243. And yet, perhaps, the worst part of this vanity is its *unteachableness*. *Tell* it any thing, and it has *known* it long ago; and out-runs information and instruction, or else proudly puffs at it.

244. Where-

244. Whereas the *greatest* understandings doubt *most*, are readiest to *learn*, and least pleased with *themselves*; this, with no *body else*.

245. For though they stand on higher ground, and so see farther than their neighbours, they are yet *bumbled* by their prospect, since it shews them something so much *bigger*, and above their reach.

246. And truly then it is, that *sense* shines with the greatest beauty, when it is set in *humility*.

247. An *umble* able man, is a jewel worth a kingdom: it is often saved by him, as Solomon's *poor wise* man did the city.

248. May we have more of them, or less need of them!

THE CONFORMIST.

249. It is reasonable to concur, where conscience does not forbid a compliance; for conformity is at least a civil virtue.

250. But we should only press it in necessaries; the rest may prove a snare or temptation to break society.

251. But, above all, it is a weakness in religion and government, where it is carried to things of an *indifferent* nature; since besides that it makes way for scruples, *liberty* is always the price of it.

252. Such conformists have little to boast of, and therefore the less reason to reproach others, that have more latitude.

253. And yet the latitudinarian that I love, is one that is only so in *charity*: for the freedom I recommend is no *scepticism* in judgment, and much less so in practice.

THE OBLIGATION OF GREAT MEN TO ALMIGHTY GOD.

254. It seems but reasonable that those whom God has distinguished from others by his goodness, should distinguish themselves to him by their gratitude.

255. For though he has made of one blood all nations, he has not ranged or dignified them upon the *level*, but in a sort of subordination and dependency.

256. If we look upwards, we find it in the heavens, where the *planets* have their several *degrees* of glory; and so the other *stars*, of magnitude and lustre.

257. If we look upon the earth, we see it among the trees of the wood, from the *cedar* to the *bramble*; among the *fishes*, from the *leviatban* to the *sprat*; in the *air*, among the *birds*, from the *eagle* to the *sparrow*; among the *beasts*, from the *lion* to the *cat*; and among *mankind*, from the *king* to the *scavenger*.

258. Our great men, doubtless, were designed, by the *wise framer* of the world, for our *religious*, *moral*, and *politick* talents, for *lights* and *directions* to the lower ranks of the numerous company of their own kind, both in precepts and examples; and they are *well paid* for their pains too, who have the honour and service of their fellow-creatures, and the *marrow* and *fat* of the earth, for their share.

259. But is it not a most unaccountable folly, that men should be *proud* of the providences, that should *bumble* them? Or think the better of *themselves*, instead of Him that raised them so much above the *level*; or of being so in their lives, in return of his extraordinary favours.

260. But it is but too near a-kin to us, to think no farther than ourselves, either in the acquisition, or use, of our wealth and greatness: when, alas! they are the preferments of heaven, to try our wisdom, bounty, and gratitude.

261. It is a dangerous perversion of the end of providence, to consume the *time*, *power*, and *wealth* he has given us above other men, to gratify our *sordid passions*, instead of playing the good stewards, to the honour of our great Benefactor, and the good of our fellow-creatures.

262. But it is an injustice too; since those higher ranks of men are but the *trustees* of heaven, for the benefit

nefit of *leffer* mortals; who, as *minors*, are intituled to all their care and provision.

263. For though God has dignified some men above their brethren, it never was to serve their pleasures, but that they might take pleasure to serve the publick.

264. For this cause, doubtless, it was that they were raised above necessity, or any trouble to live, that they might have more time and ability to care for others: and it is certain, where *that* use is not made of the bounties of providence, they are *embezzled* and wasted.

265. It has often struck me with a serious reflection, when I have observed the great inequality of the world; that one man should have such numbers of his fellow-creatures to *wait* upon him, who have souls to be saved as well as he; and this not for business, but *state*. Certainly a poor employment of his money, and a worse of their time.

266. But that any one man should make work for so many, or rather keep them *from* work, to make up a *train*, has a levity or luxury in it very reprobable, both in religion and government.

267. But even in *allowable* services, it has an humbling consideration, and what should raise the thankfulness of the great men to him, that has so much bettered *their* circumstances, and *moderate* the use of their dominion over those of their own kind.

268. When the poor Indians hear us call any of our family by the name of *servants*, they cry out, 'What I call brethren, *servants!* We call our *dogs* servants, but never *men.*' The *moral* certainly can do us no harm, but may instruct us to abate our height, and narrow our state and attendance.

269. And what has been said of their excess, may, in some measure, be applied to other branches of luxury, that set *ill examples* to the lesser world, and rob the needy of their pensions.

270. God Almighty touch the hearts of our grandees with a sense of his distinguished goodness, and the true end of it; that they may better distinguish themselves

in their conduct, to the glory of him that has thus liberally preferred them, and to the benefit of their fellow-creatures.

OF REFINING UPON OTHER MENS ACTIONS OR INTERESTS.

271. This seems to be the master-piece of our politicians: but no body shoots more at random, than those refiners.

272. A perfect lottery, and mere hap-hazard! Since the *true* spring of the actions of men, is as *invisible* as their hearts; and so are their thoughts, too, of their several interests.

273. He that judges of other men by himself, does not always hit the mark; because all men have not the same capacity, nor passions in interest.

274. If an able man refines upon the proceedings of an *ordinary* capacity, according to his *own*, he must ever miss it: but much more the ordinary man, when he shall pretend to speculate the motives to the able man's actions: for the able man deceives himself, by making the other *wiser* than he is in the *reason* of his conduct; and the ordinary man makes *himself* so, in presuming to judge of the reasons of the abler man's actions.

275. It is, in short, a wood, a maze; and of nothing are we more uncertain, nor in any thing do we oftener befool ourselves.

276. The mischiefs are many that follow this humour, and dangerous: for men misguide themselves, act upon false measures, and meet frequently with mischievous disappointments.

277. It excludes all *confidence* in commerce; allows of no such thing as a *principle* in practice; supposes every man to act upon other reasons than what *appear*, and that there is no such thing as uprightness or sincerity among mankind: a trick, instead of truth.

278. Neither allowing *nature*, or *religion*, but some *worldly* fetch or advantage, the true, the hidden motive, to all men to act or do.

279. It is hard to express its uncharitableness, as well as uncertainty; and has more of vanity than benefit in it.

280. This foolish quality gives a large field; but let what I have said, serve for this time.

OF CHARITY.

281. Charity has *various* senses, but is excellent in *all* of them.

282. It imports, first, the commiseration of the poor and unhappy of mankind, and extends an helping-hand to mend their condition.

283. They that feel *nothing* of this, are, at best, not above half akin to human race; since they must have no *bowels*, which makes such an *essential* part thereof, who have no more *nature*.

284. A *man!* and yet not have the feeling of the wants or needs of his own flesh and blood! A *monster* rather! And may he never be suffered to propagate such an unnatural stock in the world!

285. Such an uncharitableness spoils the best gains; and two to one but it entails a curse upon the possessors.

286. Nor can we expect to be heard of God in our prayers, that turn the *deaf* ear to the petitions of the distressed amongst our fellow-creatures.

287. God sends the poor to *try* us; as well as he tries *them*, by being *such*: and he that refuses them a *little*, out of the great deal that God has given him, lays up poverty in store for his own posterity.

288. I will not say these works are *meritorious*; but I dare say they are *acceptable*; and go not without their reward: though, to humble us in our fulness, and liberality too, we only give what is given us to *give*, as well as use: for if *we ourselves* are not *our own*, less is *that so* which God has *intrusted* us with.

289. Next, charity makes the *best construction* of things and persons; and is so far from being an evil spy, a backbiter, or a detractor, that it excuses weakness, extenuates miscarriages, makes the best of every thing, forgives every-body, serves all, and hopes to the end.

290. It moderates extremes, is always for expedients, labours to accommodate differences, and had rather

suffer than revenge : and is so far from exacting the utmost farthing, that it had rather *lose*, than seek its own *violently*.

291. As it acts *freely*, so *zealously* too ; but it is always to do *good*, for it *hurts* nobody.

292. An universal remedy against *discord*, and an holy *cement* for mankind.

293. And, lastly, It is *LOVE* to God and the brethren, which raises the soul above all *worldly* considerations : and as it gives a *taste* of heaven upon earth, so it is heaven, in the *fulnes* of it, to the *truly* charitable *here*.

294. *This* is the *noblest* sense charity has ; after which all should press, as that *more* excellent way.

295. Nay, *most* excellent : for as faith, hope, and charity were the *more* excellent way that the great apostle discovered to the Christians (too apt to stick in *outward* gifts and *church* performances) so, of that *better* way, he preferred charity as the *BEST* part, because it would *out-last* the rest, and abide *for ever*.

296. Wherefore a man can never be a *true* and *good* Christian without *charity*, even in the *lowest* sense of it : and yet he may have *that* part thereof, and still be none of the apostle's *true* Christian ; since he tells us, “ That though we should give all our goods to the *poor*, and want *charity* (in her other and *higher* senses) it would profit us *nothing*.”

297. Nay, “ Though we had all *tongues*, all *knowledge*, and even gifts of *prophecy*, and were *preachers* to others, aye, and had *zeal* enough to give our bodies to be *burned*, yet if we wanted *CHARITY*, it would not avail us for salvation.”

298. It seems it was *his* (and indeed ought to be *our*) *unum necessarium*, or the “ one thing needful : ” which our Saviour attributed to *Mary*, in preference to her sister *Martba*, that seems not to have wanted the *lesser* parts of charity.

299. Would God this divine *virtue* were more implanted and diffused among mankind, the pretenders to *Christianity* especially ; and we should certainly mind *piety* more than *controversy*, and exercise *love* and *compassion*, instead of *cenfuring* and *persecuting* one another, in *any* manner whatsoever,

A B R I E F
A C C O U N T
O F T H E
R I S E A N D P R O G R E S S
O F T H E
P E O P L E
C A L L E D
Q U A K E R S.

I N W H I C H T H E I R

FUNDAMENTAL PRIN- CIPLE, DOCTRINES, WORSHIP,		MINISTRY, AND DISCIPLINE,
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A R E P L A I N L Y D E C L A R E D .

B Y W I L L I A M P E N N .

Published in the Year 1694.



A N
E P I S T L E
T O T H E
R E A D E R.

THIS following account of the people called Quakers, &c. was writ in the fear and love of God: first, as a standing testimony to that ever-blessed truth, in the inward parts, with which God, in my youthful time, visited my soul, and for the sense and love of which I was made willing, in no ordinary way, to relinquish the honours and interests of the world: secondly, as a testimony for that despised people, that God has, in his great mercy, gathered and united, by his own blessed Spirit, in the holy profession of it; whose fellowship I value above all worldly greatness: thirdly, in love and honour to the memory of that worthy servant of God, G. Fox, the first instrument thereof, and therefore stiled by me the great and blessed apostle of our day.

As this gave birth to what is here presented to thy view, in the first edition of it, by way of preface to G. Fox's excellent journal; so the consideration of the present usefulness of the following account of the people called Quakers, (by reason of the unjust reflections of some adversaries, that once walked under the profession of friends) and the exhortations that conclude it, prevailed with me to consent that it should be republished in a smaller volume; knowing also full well, that great books, especially in these days, grow burthensome, both to the pockets and
minds

minds of too many; and that there are not a few that desire (so that it be an easy rate) to be informed about this people, that have been so much, everywhere, spoken against: but, blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, it is upon no worse grounds, than it was said of old time of the primitive Christians; as I hope will appear to every sober and considerate reader. Our business, after all the ill usage we have met with, being the realities of religion, an effectual change, before our last and great change: that all may come to an inward, sensible, and experimental knowledge of God, through the convictions and operations of the light and Spirit of Christ in themselves; the sufficient and blessed means given to all, and that thereby all may come savingly to know the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom he hath sent to enlighten and redeem the world; which knowledge is, indeed, *eternal life*. And that thou, reader, mayest obtain it, is the earnest desire of him that is ever

Thine in so good a work,

W. P E N N.

A BRIEF

A B R I E F

A C C O U N T, &c.

C H A P. I.

Containing a brief account of divers dispensations of God in the world, to the time he was pleased to raise this despised people, called *Quakers*.

DIVERS have been the dispensations of God, since the creation of the world, unto the sons of men: but the great end of all of them has been, the renown of his own excellent name, in the creation and restoration of man: man, the emblem of himself, as a god on earth, and the glory of all his works,

The world began with innocency: all was then good that the good God had made: and as he blessed the works of his hands, so their natures and harmony magnified him, their Creator. Then the morning stars sang together for joy, and all parts of his works said amen to his law. Not a jar in the whole frame; but man in paradise, the beasts in the field, the fowl in the air, the fish in the sea, the lights in the heavens, the fruits of the earth, yea, the air, the earth, the water and fire, worshipped, praised, and exalted his power, wisdom, and goodness. O holy sabbath, O holy day to the Lord!

But this happy state lasted not long: for man, the crown and glory of the whole, being tempted to aspire above his place, unhappily yielded against command and duty, as well as interest and felicity, and
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so fell below it; lost the divine image, the wisdom, power, and purity he was made in. By which, being no longer *fit* for paradise, he was expelled that garden of God, his *proper* dwelling and residence, and was driven out, as a poor vagabond, from the presence of the Lord, to wander in the earth, the habitation of **beasts.**

Yet God, that made him, had pity on him: for he, seeing man was deceived, and that it was not of malice, or an *original presumption* in him, but through the subtlety of the serpent (who had first fallen from his *own* state, and by the mediation of the woman, man's *own* nature and companion, whom the serpent had first deluded) in his infinite goodness and wisdom, found out a way to repair the breach, recover the loss, and restore fallen man again, by a *nobler* and *more excellent* Adam, promised to be born of a woman; that as, by means of a woman, the evil one had prevailed upon man, by a woman also He should come into the world, who would prevail *against* him and bruise his *head*, and deliver man from his power: and which, in a signal manner, by the dispensation of the Son of God in the flesh, in the fulness of time, was personally and fully accomplished by him, and in him, as man's Saviour and Redeemer.

But his power was not limited, in the manifestation of it, to *that* time; for both before, and since, his blessed manifestation in the flesh, he has been the *light* and *life*, the rock and strength, of all that ever feared God: was present with them in their temptations, followed them in their travels and afflictions, and supported and carried them through and over the difficulties that have attended them in their earthly pilgrimage. By this *Abel's* heart excelled *Cain's*, and *Setib* obtained the preheminance, and *Enoch* walked with God. It was this that strove with the old world, and which they rebelled against, and which sanctified and instructed *Noah* to salvation.

But the *outward* dispensation that followed the *be-wigbred* state of man, after his fall, especially among the
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the patriarchs, was generally that of *angels*; as the scriptures of the Old Testament do in many places express, as to Abraham, Jacob, &c. The next was that of the *law* by *Moses*, which was also delivered by *angels*, as the apostle tells us. This dispensation was much outward, and suited to a low and servile state; called therefore, by the apostle Paul, that of a *school-master*, which was to point out, and prepare that people to look and long for, the *Messiah*, who would deliver them from the servitude of a ceremonious and imperfect dispensation, by knowing the realities of those mysterious representations in *themselves*. In this time, the law was written on stone, the temple built with hands, attended with an *outward* priesthood and *external* rites and ceremonies, that were *shadows* of the *good things* that were *to come*, and were only to serve till the *Seed* came, (or the more excellent and *general* manifestation of Christ) to whom was the promise, and to all men only in *him*, in whom it was *yea* and *amen*, even life from death, immortality, and eternal life.

This the prophets *foresaw*; and comforted the believing *Jews* in the certainty of it; which was the top of the *Mosaical* dispensation, and which ended in *John's* ministry, the fore-runner of the *Messiah*, as *John's* was finished in *him*, the *fulness* of all. And then God, that at sundry times, and in divers manners, had spoken to the fathers by his servants the prophets, spoke to men by his *Son*, Christ Jesus, who is *Heir* of all *things*; being the gospel-day, which is the dispensation of *Sonship*; bringing in thereby a nearer testament and a better hope; even the beginning of the glory of the latter days, and of the restitution of all things; *yea*, the *restoration* of the *kingdom* unto *Israel*.

Now the *Spirit*, that was more *sparingly* communicated in former dispensations, began to be *poured forth* upon *all flesh*, according to the prophet Joel, and the *light*, that shined in *darkness*, or but *dimly*, before, the most gracious God caused to shine *out of* darkness, and the *day-star* began to arise in the hearts of believers,

lievers, giving unto them the knowledge of God in the face (or appearance) of his Son Christ Jesus.

Now the poor in spirit, the meek, the true mourners, the hungry and thirsty after righteousness, the peace-makers, the pure in heart, the merciful and persecuted, came more especially in remembrance before the Lord, and were sought out and blessed by Israel's true Shepherd. Old Jerusalem with her children grew out of date, and the New Jerusalem into request, the mother of the sons of the gospel-day. Wherefore no more at Old Jerusalem, nor at the mountain of Samaria, will God be worshipped above other places; for, behold, he is, by his own Son, declared and preached a Spirit, and that he will be known as such, and worshipped in the spirit and in the truth! He will now come nearer than of old time, and he will "write his law in the heart, and put his fear and spirit in the inward parts," according to his promise. Then *signs, types, and shadows* flew away, the *day* having discovered their insufficiency in not reaching to the *inside* of the *cup*, to the *cleansing* of the *conscience*; and all elementary services were ended in and by Him that is the substance of all.

And to this great and blessed end of the dispensation of the Son of God, did the apostles testify, whom he had chosen and anointed by his Spirit, to turn the *Jews* from their prejudice and superstition, and the *Gentiles* from their vanity and idolatry, to Christ's light and Spirit that shined in them; that they might be quickened from the sins and trespasses in which they were dead, to serve the living God, in the newness of the Spirit of life, and walk as children of the *light*, and of the *day*, even the day of holiness: for such "put on Christ," the light of the world, and "make no more provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof." So that the *light, spirit, and grace*, that come by Christ, and appear in man, were that *divine principle* the apostles ministered from, and turned people's minds unto, and in which they gathered and built up the churches of Christ in their day. For
which

which cause they advise them not to *quench* the Spirit; but to *wait for* the Spirit, and *speak* by the Spirit, and *pray* by the Spirit, and *walk* in the Spirit too, as that which approved them the truly begotten children of God, “born not of flesh and blood, or of the will of man, but of the will of God;” by doing *his* will, and denying their *own*; by drinking of *Christ’s* cup, and being baptized with *His* baptism of *self-denial*; the way and path that all the heirs of life have ever trod to blessedness.

But, alas! even in the apostles days, (those bright stars of the first magnitude of the gospel light) some clouds, foretelling an eclipse of this primitive glory, began to appear; and several of them gave early caution of it to the Christians of their time, that even then there was, and yet would be more and more, a falling-away from the power of godliness, and the purity of that spiritual dispensation, by such as sought to make a *fair shew* in the *flesh*, but with whom the offence of the cross ceased: yet with this comfortable conclusion, that they saw, beyond it, a more glorious time than ever to the true church.

Their sight was true, and what they foretold to the churches, gathered by them in the name and power of Jesus, came to pass; for Christians degenerated apace into outsidings, as *days* and *meats*, and divers other ceremonies. And, which was worse, they fell into *strife* and *contention* about them; *separating* one from another, then *envying*, and, as they had power, *persecuting* one another, to the shame and scandal of their common Christianity, and grievous stumbling and offence of the *Heathen*, among whom the Lord had so long and so marvellously preserved them. And having got at last the worldly power into their hands, by kings and emperors embracing the Christian profession, they changed, what they could, the kingdom of Christ, “which is not of *this world*,” into a worldly kingdom; or at least stiled the worldly kingdom, that was in their hands, the *kingdom* of *Christ*; and so they became *worldly*, and not *true* Christians. Then *human*
inventions

inventions and *novelties*, both in doctrine and worship, crouded fast into the church; a door being opened thereunto, by the grossness and carnality that appeared then among the generality of Christians, who had long since left the guidance of God's meek and heavenly spirit, and given themselves up to *superstition*, *will-worship*, and *voluntary humility*. And as superstition is blind, so it is heady and furious; for all must stoop to its blind and boundless zeal, or perish by it: in the *name* of the Spirit, persecuting the very *appearance* of the Spirit of God in others, and opposing that in others, which they resisted in themselves, viz. the light, grace, and Spirit of the Lord Jesus Christ; but always under the notion of *innovation*, *heresy*, *schisms*, or some such plausible name: though Christianity allows of no name, or pretence whatever, for persecuting of any man for matters of mere religion, being, in its very nature, *meek*, *gentle*, and *forbearing*; and consists of *faith*, *hope*, and *charity*, which no persecutor *can* have, whilst he remains a persecutor; in that a man cannot *believe well*, or *hope well*, or have a *charitable* or *tender* regard to another, whilst he would violate his *mind*, or persecute his *body*, for matters of *faith* or *worship* towards his God.

Thus the *false church* sprang up, and mounted the *chair*: but though she lost her nature, she would needs keep her good name of the *Lamb's bride*, the *true church*, and *mother of the faithful*; constraining all to receive her mark, either in her forehead, or right hand; that is, *publickly* or *privately*: but, in deed and in truth, she was "*mystery Babylon*, the *mother of bar-lots*," mother of those, that, with all their *shew* and *outside* of religion, were adulterated and gone from the *spirit*, *nature*, and *life* of *Christ*, and grown *vain*, *worldly*, *ambitious*, *covetous*, *cruel*, &c. which are the fruits of the flesh, and not of the Spirit.

Now it was, that the *true church* fled into the *wilderness*; that is, from *superstition* and *violence*, to a *retired*, *solitary*, and *lonely* state; *bidden*, and, as it were, out of *sight* of *men*, though not out of the *world*.

Which

Which shews, that her wonted visibility was not essential to the being of a true church, in the judgment of the *Holy Ghost*; she being as true a church in the *wilderness*, though not as visible and lustrous, as when she was in her former splendor of *profession*.

In this state many attempts she made to return; but the waters were yet too high, and her way blocked up; and many of her excellent children, in several nations and centuries, *fell*, by the cruelty of superstition, because they would not fall from their faithfulness to the *truth*.

The last age did set some steps towards it, both as to doctrine, worship, and practice. But practice quickly failed; for wickedness flowed in a little time, as well among the professors of the *reformation*, as those they reformed *from*; so that by the fruits of conversation they were not to be distinguished: and the children of the reformers, if not the reformers themselves, betook themselves, very early, to *earthly policy* and *power*, to uphold and carry on their reformation, that had been begun with *spiritual weapons*; which, I have often thought, has been one of the greatest reasons the reformation made no better progress, as to the *life* and *soul* of religion. For whilst the reformers were lowly and spiritually-minded, and trusted in God, and looked to him, and lived in his fear, and consulted not with flesh and blood, nor sought deliverance in their own way, there were daily added to the church, such as one might reasonably say should be saved: for they were not so careful to be safe from persecution, as to be faithful and inoffensive under it: being more concerned to spread the truth by their faith and patience in *tribulation*, than to get the worldly power out of their hands that inflicted those sufferings upon them: and it will be well if the Lord suffer them not to fall, by the very same way they took to stand.

In doctrine, they were in some things short; in other things, to avoid one extreme, they ran into another: and for worship, there was, for the generality, more of *man* in it than of *God*. They *owned* the Spirit,

rit, inspiration, and revelation, indeed, and grounded their separation and reformation upon the sense and understanding they received *from* it, in the reading of the scriptures of truth. And this was their plea, 'The *scripture* is the *text*, the *Spirit* the *interpreter*, and that to *every one* for *himself*.' But yet there was too much of human invention, tradition, and art, that remained, both in praying and preaching; and of worldly authority, and worldly greatness, in their ministers; especially in this kingdom, Sweden, Denmark, and some parts of Germany. God was therefore pleased, in England, to shift us from vessel to vessel; and the next remove *bumbled* the ministry, so that they were more strict in preaching, devout in praying, and zealous for keeping the Lord's-day, and catechizing of children and servants, and repeating at home in their families, what they had heard in publick. But even as these grew into power, they were not only for whipping some *out*, but others *into* the temple: and they appeared *rigid* in their *spirits*, rather than severe in their lives, and more for a *party*, than for *piety*: which brought forth another people, that were yet more retired and select.

They would not communicate at large, or in common with others; but formed churches among themselves, of such as could give some account of their conversion; at least, of very promising experiences of the work of God's grace upon their hearts; and under mutual agreements and covenants of fellowship, they kept together. These people were somewhat of a *softer* temper, and seemed to recommend religion by the charms of its love, mercy, and goodness, rather than by the terrors of its judgments and punishments; by which the former party would have *awed* people into religion.

They also allowed greater liberty to *prophecy* than those before them; for they admitted *any* member to speak and pray, as well as their pastor, whom *they* always chose, and not the civil magistrate. If such found any thing *pressing upon them to either duty*, even without

without the distinction of *clergy* or *laity*, persons of *any trade* had their liberty, be it ever so low and mechanical. But, alas! even these people suffered great loss: for tasting of *worldly empire*, and the *favour of princes*, and the *gain* that ensued, they degenerated but too much. For though they had cried down national churches and ministry, and maintenance too, some of them, when it was their own turn to be tried, fell under the weight of worldly honour and advantage, got into profitable parsonages too much, and outlived and contradicted their own principles: and, which was yet worse, turned, some of them, absolute *persecutors* of *other men* for *God's sake*, that but so lately came themselves out of the furnace; which drove many a step farther, and that was into the *water*; another BAPTISM, as believing they were not *scripturally* baptized; and hoping to find that presence and power of God, in submitting to this watery ordinance, which they desired and wanted.

These people also made profession of neglecting, if not renouncing and censuring, not only the necessity, but use, of all human learning, as to the ministry; and all other qualifications to it, besides the *helps* and *gifts* of the *Spirit of God*, and those natural and common to men: and, for a time, they seemed, like John of old, a burning and a shining light to other societies.

They were very diligent, plain, and serious; strong in scripture, and bold in profession; bearing much reproach and contradiction. But that which others fell by, proved *their snare*: for worldly power spoiled *them* too; who had enough of it to try them what they would do if they had more: and they rested also too much upon their watery dispensation, instead of passing on more fully to that of the *fire* and *Holy Ghost*, which was *His* baptism, who came with "a fan in his hand, that he might thoroughly (and not in *part* only) purge his floor, and take away the dross and the tin of his people, and make a man finer than gold." Withal, they grew high, rough, and self-righteous; opposing farther attainment; too much

forgetting the day of their infancy and littleness, which gave them something of a real beauty: inasmuch that many *left* them, and all visible churches and societies, and wandered up and down, as sheep without a shepherd, and as doves without their mates; seeking their Beloved, but could not find him (as their souls desired to know him) whom their souls loved above their chiefest joy.

These people were called *Seekers* by some, and the *Family of Love*, by others; because, as they came to the knowledge of one another, they sometimes *met* together, not formally to pray or preach at appointed times or places, in their own wills, as in times past they were accustomed to do; but waited together in *silence*, and as any thing rose in any one of their minds that they thought favoured of a divine spring, they sometimes spoke. But so it was, that some of them, not keeping in humility, and in the fear of God, after the abundance of revelation, were exalted *above measure*; and for want of staying their minds in an humble dependence upon Him that opened their understandings "to see great things in his law," they ran out in their own *imaginations*, and mixing *them* with those *divine openings*, brought forth a monstrous birth, to the scandal of those that feared God, and waited daily, in the "temple not made with hands," for the consolation of Israel; the Jew inward, and circumcision in spirit.

This people obtained the name of *Ranters*, from their extravagant discourses and practices. For they interpreted Christ's fulfilling of the law *for us*, to be a *discharging of us* from any obligation and duty the law required of us; instead of the condemnation of the law for sins past, upon faith and repentance; and that now it was *no sin* to do that, which before it *was* a sin to commit; the slavish fear of the law being taken off by Christ; and all things *good* that man did, if he did but do them with the mind and persuasion that it *was so*. Inasmuch that divers fell into gross and enormous practices; pretending, in excuse thereof, that they

they could, *without evil*, commit the *same act*, which was *sin* in *another* to do; thereby distinguishing between the *action* and the *evil* of it, by the direction of the mind and intention in the doing of it. Which was to make sin *super-abound* by the aboundings of *grace*, and to turn from the grace of God into wantonness; a *securer* way of sinning than before: as if Christ came not to save us *from* our sins, but *in* our sins; not to *take away* sin, but that we might sin more freely at *his cost*, and with less danger to ourselves. I say, this ensnared divers, and brought them to an utter and lamentable loss as to their eternal state; and they grew very troublesome to the *better* sort of people, and furnished the *looser* with an occasion to profane.

C H A P. II.

Of the rise of this PEOPLE; their fundamental principle, doctrine, and practice, in twelve points resulting from it: their progress and sufferings: an expostulation with England thereupon.

IT was about that very time, as you may see in G. F's annals, that the eternal, wise, and good God was pleased, in his infinite love, to honour and visit this *benighted* and *bewildered* nation, with his glorious *day-spring* from on high; yea, with a most sure and certain sound of the word of light and life, through the testimony of a *chosen vessel*, to an effectual and blessed purpose, can many thousands say: glory be to the name of the Lord for ever!

For as it reached the conscience, and broke the heart, and brought many to a sense and search; so that which people had been vainly seeking *without*, with much pains and cost, they, by this ministry, found *within*, where it was they wanted what they sought for, viz. *the right way to peace with God*. For they were directed to the *light of Jesus Christ within them,*

them, as the *seed* and *leaven* of the kingdom of God; *near* all, because *in* all, and God's talent *to* all: a *faithful* and *true witness*, and *just monitor*, in *every bosom*: the *gift* and *grace* of God, to life and salvation, that *appears* to all, though few *regard* it. *This*, the traditional Christian, conceited of himself, and strong in his own will and *righteousness*, overcome with blind zeal and passion, either despised as a *low* and *common* thing, or opposed as a *novelty*, under many hard names, and opprobrious terms; denying, in his ignorant and angry mind, any *fresh* manifestations of God's power and spirit in man, in these days, though never more needed to make true Christians. Not unlike those Jews of old, that rejected the Son of God, at the very same time that they blindly professed to wait for the Messiah to come; because, alas! he appeared not among them according to their *carnal* mind and expectation.

This brought forth many abusive books, which filled the greater sort with *envy*, and lesser with *rage*; and made the way and progress of this blessed testimony strait and narrow indeed to those that received it. However, God owned his own work, and this testimony did, *effectually*, reach, gather, comfort, and establish the weary and heavy-laden, the hungry and thirsty, the poor and needy, the mournful and sick of many *maladies*, that had spent all upon physicians of no value, and waited for relief from *heaven*; help only from above: seeing, upon a serious trial of all things, nothing else would do but *Christ himself*; the *light* of his *countenance*, a *touch* of his *garment*, and *help* from his *hand*; who cured the poor woman's issue, raised the centurion's servant, the widow's son, the ruler's daughter, and Peter's mother: and, like her, they no sooner felt his power and efficacy upon their souls, but they gave up to obey him in a testimony to his power; and that with resigned wills and faithful hearts, through all mockings, contradictions, confiscations, beatings, prisons, and many other jeopardies that attended them for his blessed name's sake.

And

And truly they were very many, and very great! So that, in all human probability, they must have been swallowed up quick of the proud and boisterous waves that swelled and beat against them, but that the God of all their tender mercies was with them in his glorious authority; so that the hills often *fled*, and the mountains *melted*, before the power that filled them; working mightily for them, as well as in them, one ever following the other: by which they saw plainly; to their exceeding great confirmation and comfort, "that all things were possible with him with whom they had to do:" and that the more that which God required seemed to cross man's wisdom, and expose them to man's wrath, the more God appeared to help and carry them through all to his glory.

Insomuch that if ever any people could say in truth, "Thou art our sun and our shield, our rock and sanctuary; and by thee we have leaped over a wall, and by thee we have run through a troop, and by thee we have put the armies of the aliens to flight," these people had right to say it. And as God had delivered their souls of the wearisome burdens of sin and vanity, and enriched their poverty of spirit, and satisfied their great hunger and thirst after eternal righteousness, and filled them with the good things of his own house, and made them stewards of his manifold gifts; so they went forth to all quarters of these nations, to declare to the inhabitants thereof, "what God had *done* for them;" what they had found, and where and how they had found it, viz. *The way to peace with God*: inviting all to come, and see, and taste, for themselves, the truth of what they declared unto them.

And as their testimony was to the *principle of God in man*, the *precious pearl and leaven of the kingdom*, as the only blessed means appointed of God to quicken, convince, and sanctify man; so they opened to them what it was in *itself*, and what it was given to them for: *how* they might know it from their *own* spirit, and that of the subtil appearance of the evil one: and what it would do for all those, whose minds should be turned off from

the vanity of the world, and its lifeless ways and teachers, and adhere to this blessed light in themselves, which discovers and condemns sin in all its appearances, and shews how to overcome it, if minded and obeyed in its holy manifestations and convictions: giving power to such to avoid and resist those things that do not please God, and to grow strong in love, faith, and good works: that so *man*, whom sin has made as a *wilderness*, over-run with briars and thorns, might become as the *garden* of God, cultivated by his divine power, and replenished with the most virtuous and beautiful plants of God's own right-hand planting, to his eternal praise.

But these experimental preachers of glad tidings of God's truth and kingdom, could not run when they list, or pray or preach when they pleased, but as *Christ*, their redeemer, *prepared* and *moved* them by his own blessed *Spirit*; for which they waited, in their services and meetings, and spoke as *that* gave them *utterance*; and which was as those having authority, and not like the dreaming, dry, and formal Pharisees. And so it plainly appeared to the serious-minded, whose spiritual eye the Lord Jesus had in any measure opened: so that to one was given the word of *exhortation*, to another the word of *reproof*, to another the word of *consolation*, and all by the *same Spirit*, and in the good order thereof, to the convincing and edifying of many.

And truly they waxed strong and bold through faithfulness; and by the Power and Spirit of the Lord Jesus became very fruitful; thousands, in a short time, being turned to the truth in the inward parts, through their testimony, in ministry and sufferings: insomuch as in most counties, and many of the considerable towns of England, meetings were settled, and daily there were added such as should be saved. For they were diligent to *plant* and to *water*, and the Lord blessed their labours with an exceeding great *increase*; notwithstanding all the opposition made to their blessed *progress*, by false rumours, calumnies, and bitter persecutions; not only from the powers of the earth, but from

from every-one that lifted to injure and abuse them: so that they seemed, indeed, to be as “poor sheep appointed to the slaughter, and as people killed all the day long.”

It were fitter for a volume than a preface, but so much as to repeat the *contents* of their cruel sufferings from professors, as well as from profane, and from magistrates as well as the rabble: so that it may be said of this abused and despised people, they went forth *weeping* and sowed in *tears*, bearing testimony to the *precious seed*, even the *seed* of the *kingdom*, which stands not in *words*, the finest, the highest that man’s wit can use, but in *power*; the power of Christ Jesus, to whom God the Father hath given *all* power in heaven and in earth, that he might rule *angels* above, and *men* below: who impowered them, as their work witnesseth, by the many that were *turned*, through their ministry, from *darkness* to the *light*, and out of the *broad* into the *narrow* way of life and peace; bringing people to a weighty, serious, and god-like conversation; the *practice* of that doctrine which they taught.

And as without this secret divine power, there is no quickening and regenerating of dead souls; so the *want* of this *generating* and *begetting* power and life, is the cause of the little fruit that the many ministries, that have been and are in the world, bring forth. O that both ministers and people were sensible of this! My soul is often troubled for them, and sorrow and mourning compass me about for their sakes. O that they were wise! O that they would consider, and lay to heart, the things that truly and substantially make for their lasting peace!

Two things are to be considered, the *doctrine* they taught, and the *example* they led, among all people. I have already touched upon their fundamental principle, which is as the corner stone of their fabrick; and, indeed, to speak eminently and properly, their characteristic, or main distinguishing point or principle, viz. the *light of Christ within*, as God’s gift for man’s salvation: this, I say, is as the root of the goodly tree

tree of doctrines that grew and branched out from it, which I shall now mention in their natural and experimental order.

First, "Repentance from dead works, to serve the "living God:" which comprehends three operations. First, a *sight* of sin. Secondly, a *sense* and *godly sorrow* for sin. Thirdly, an *amendment* for the time to come. This was the repentance they preached and pressed, and a natural result from the principle they turned all people unto. For of light came *sight*; and of sight came *sense* and *sorrow*; and of sense and sorrow, came *amendment of life*. Which doctrine of repentance leads to *justification*; that is, *forgiveness* of the *sins that are past*, through *Christ*, the alone *propitiation*; and the *sanctification* or *purgation of the soul*, from the defiling nature and habits of *sin present*, by the Spirit of Christ in the soul: which is justification in the *complete* sense of that word; comprehending both justification from the *guilt* of the sins that are past, as if they had never been committed, through the love and mercy of God in Christ Jesus; and the creature's being made inwardly *just* through the cleansing and sanctifying power and Spirit of Christ revealed in the soul; which is commonly called *sanctification*: but that none can come to know Christ to be their sacrifice, that reject him as their sanctifier: the end of his coming being to save his people from the *nature* and *defilement*, as well as guilt of sin; and that therefore those that resist his Light and Spirit, make his coming and offering of none effect to them.

From hence sprang a second doctrine they were led to declare, as the "mark of the prize of the high "calling," to all true Christians, viz. *Perfection from sin*, according to the scriptures of truth; which testify it to be the end of Christ's coming, and the nature of his kingdom, and for which his Spirit was and is given, viz. to be "perfect, as our heavenly Father is perfect; "and holy, because God is holy." And this the apostle laboured for, that the Christians should be "sanctified *throughout*, in body, soul, and spirit."

But

But they never held a perfection in *wisdom* and *glory* in this life, or from *natural infirmities*, or *death*; as some have, with a weak or ill mind, imagined, and insinuated against them.

This they call a ‘redeemed state, re-generation, or ‘the new-birth:’ teaching every-where, according to their foundation, that without this work were known, there was no inheriting the kingdom of God.

Thirdly, This leads to an acknowledgment of *eternal rewards* and *punishments*, as they have good reason; for else, of *all* people, certainly they must be the *most miserable*; who, for above forty years, have been exceeding great sufferers for their profession; and, in some cases, treated *worse* than the *worst* of men; yea, as the “refuse and off-scouring of all things.”

This was the purport of their doctrine and ministry; which, for the most part, is what other professors of Christianity pretend to hold in words and forms, but not in the *power* of godliness; which, generally speaking, has been long lost, by mens departing from that *principle* and *seed* of life that is *in* man, and which man has not *regarded*, but lost the *sense* of; and in and by which *only* he can be quickened in his mind to serve the living God in newness of life. For as the *life* of religion was *lost*, and the generality lived and worshipped God after their *own* wills, and not after the will of *God*, nor the mind of *Christ*, which stood in the works and fruits of the *Holy Spirit*; so that which they pressed, was not notion, but *experience*; not formality, but *godliness*; as being sensible in themselves, through the work of God’s righteous judgments, that “without “holiness, no man shall ever see the Lord, with “*comfort*.”

Besides these general doctrines, as the larger branches, there sprang forth several particular doctrines, that did exemplify and farther explain the truth and efficacy of the general doctrine before observed, in their lives and examples. As,

I. *Communion, and loving one another.* This is a noted mark in the mouth of all sorts of people concerning them: 'They will meet, they will help and stick one to another.' Whence it is common to hear some say, 'Look how the Quakers love and take care of one another.' Others, less moderate, will say, 'The Quakers love none but themselves.' And if *loving one another*, and having an *intimate communion* in religion, and *constant care* to meet to worship God, and help one another, be any mark of *primitive Christianity*, they had it, blessed be the Lord! in an ample manner.

II. *To love enemies.* This they both *taught* and *practised*. For they did not only *refuse* to be *avenged* for injuries done them, and condemned it, as of an unchristian spirit, but they did *freely forgive*, yea, *help and relieve*, those that had been *cruel* to them, when it was in their power to have been *even* with them: of which many and singular instances might be given: endeavouring, through faith and patience, to overcome all injustice and oppression, and preaching this doctrine as *Christian*, for others to follow.

III. Another was, *the sufficiency of truth-speaking*, according to Christ's own form of sound words, of *yea, yea, nay, nay*, among Christians, *without swearing*; both from Christ's express prohibition, *to swear at all*, Mat. v. and for that they being under the tie and bond of truth in themselves, there was no necessity for an oath; and it would be a reproach to their Christian veracity to assure their truth by such an *extraordinary* way of speaking: simple and uncompounded answers, as *yea* and *nay*, (without asseverations, attestations, or supernatural vouchers) being most suitable to evangelical righteousness. But offering, at the same time, to be punished to the full, for *false-speaking*, as others for *perjury*, if ever guilty of it: and hereby they exclude, with all *truth*, all *false*, and *profane* swearing; for which the land did and doth *mourn*, and the great God was, and is, not a little offended with it.

IV. *Not fighting, but suffering*, is another testimony peculiar to this people: they affirm that Christianity teacheth

teacheth people, "to beat their swords into plough-shares, and their spears into pruning-hooks, and to learn war no more; that so the wolf may lie down with the lamb, and the lion with the calf, and nothing that destroys be entertained in the hearts of people:" exhorting them to employ their zeal against *sin*, and turn their anger against *satan*, and no longer war one against another; because, "all wars and fightings come of mens own hearts lusts," according to the apostle James, and not of the meek Spirit of Christ Jesus, who is captain of *another* warfare, and which is carried on with *other* weapons. Thus as *truth-speaking* succeeded *swearing*, so *faith* and *patience* succeeded *fighting*, in the doctrine and practice of this people. Nor ought they, for this, to be obnoxious to civil government; since if they cannot fight *for* it, neither can they fight *against* it; which is no mean security to any state. Nor is it reasonable that people should be blamed for not doing more for *others*, than they can do for *themselves*. And, Christianity set aside, if the costs and fruits of *war* were well considered, *peace*, with all its inconveniences, is generally preferable. But though they were not for fighting, they were for *submitting* to government; and that, "not only for fear, but for conscience-sake," where government doth not interfere with conscience: believing it to be an ordinance of God, and, where it is justly administered, a great benefit to mankind. Though it has been their lot, through blind zeal in some, and interest in others, to have felt the strokes of it with greater weight and rigour, than any other persuasion in this age; whilst they, of all others, religion set aside, have given the civil magistrate the *least* occasion of trouble in the discharge of his office.

V. Another part of the character of this people was, and is, they refuse to pay *tithes*, or *maintenance*, to a *national ministry*; and that for two reasons: the one is, they believe all *compelled* maintenance, even to *gospel-ministers*, to be unlawful, because expressly contrary to Christ's command, who said, "Freely you have received,"

“ceived, freely give:” at least, that the maintenance of gospel-ministers should be *free*, and not *forced*. The other reason of their refusal is, because those ministers are not *gospel* ones, in that the *Holy Ghost* is not their *foundation*, but *human arts and parts*. So that it is not matter of humour or fullness, but *pure conscience* towards God, that they cannot help to support national ministries where they dwell; which are but too much, and too visibly, become ways of worldly advantage and preferment.

VI. *Not to respect persons*, was, and is, another of their doctrines and practices, for which they were often buffeted and abused. They affirmed it to be sinful to give flattering titles, or to use vain gestures and compliments of respect. Though to virtue and authority they ever made a *difference*; but after their plain and homely manner, yet sincere and substantial way: well remembering the examples of Mordecai and Elihu; but, more especially, the command of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ, who forbade his followers to call men *Rabbi*, which implies *lord* or *master*; also the fashionable *greetings* and *salutations* of those times; that so *self-love* and *honour*, to which the proud mind of man is incident, in his *fallen* estate, might not be indulged, but rebuked. And though this rendered their conversation disagreeable, yet they that will remember what Christ said to the Jews, “How can you believe “in me, who receive *honour* one of another,” will abate of their resentment, if his doctrine has any credit with them.

VII. They also used the plain language of *thee* and *thou*, to a single person, whatever was his degree among men. And, indeed, the wisdom of God was much seen, in bringing forth this people in so plain an appearance: for it was a *close* and *distinguishing test* upon the *spirits* of those they came among; shewing their *infaides*, and what *predominated*, notwithstanding their high and great profession of religion. This, among the rest, founded so harsh to many of them, and they took it so ill, that they would say, ‘Thou *me*, thou my
‘ *dog!*

‘ *dog!* If thou thou’st *me*, I’ll thou thy teeth down thy ‘ *throat:*’ forgetting the language *they use* to God in their own *prayers*, and the *common stile* of the *scriptures*, and that it is an *absolute* and *essential* propriety of speech. And what good, alas! had their religion done them, who were so sensibly touched with indignation, for the use of this *plain, honest, and true* speech.

VIII. They recommended *silence* by their example, having *very few* words upon all occasions. They were *at a word* in dealing: nor could their customers, with *many* words, tempt them from it, having more regard to *truth* than *custom*, to *example* than *gain*: they sought *solitude*; but when in company, they would neither use, nor willingly hear, *unnecessary*, as well as *unlawful* discourses: whereby they preserved their minds *pure* and *undisturbed* from unprofitable thoughts, and diversions. Nor could they humour the custom of *good night, good morrow, good speed*; for they knew the *night* was good, and the *day* was good, without *wishing of either*; and that, in the other expression, the holy name of God was too *lightly* and *unthankfully* used, and therefore taken in *vain*. Besides, they were words and wishes of *course*, and are usually as little *meant*, as are *love* and *service* in the custom of cap and knee; and superfluity in those, as well as in other things, was burdensome to them; and therefore they did not only decline to use them, but found themselves often pressed to reprove the practice.

IX. For the same reason they forbore *drinking to people* or *pledging of them*, as the manner of the world is: a practice that is not only *unnecessary*, but, they thought, *evil* in the *tendencies* of it, being a *provocation* to drink more than did people *good*, as well as that it was in itself *vain* and *beatbenish*.

X. Their way of *marriage* is peculiar to them; and shews a distinguishing care, above other societies professing Christianity. They say, ‘ That marriage is an ‘ ordinance of God; and that *God only* can rightly join ‘ man and woman in *marriage*.’ Therefore they use neither *priest* or *magistrate*; but the man and woman concerned,

cerned, take each other, as husband and wife, in the presence of divers credible witnesses, *promising to each other, with God's assistance, to be loving and faithful in that relation, till death shall separate them.* But, antecedent to this, they first present themselves to the monthly meeting, for the affairs of the church, where they reside; there declaring their intentions to take one another as husband and wife, if the said meeting have nothing material to object against it. They are constantly asked the necessary questions, as in case of parents or guardians, if they have acquainted them with their intention, and have their consent, &c. The method of the meeting is, to take a minute thereof, and to appoint proper persons to enquire of their conversation and clearness from all others, and whether they have discharged their duty to their parents or guardians; and to make report thereof to the next monthly meeting, where the same parties are desired to give their attendance. In case it appears they have proceeded orderly, the meeting passes their proposal, and so records it in their meeting-book. And in case the woman be a widow, and hath children, due care is there taken, that provision also be made by her for the orphans, before the meeting pass the proposals of marriage: advising the parties concerned, to appoint a convenient time and place, and to give fitting notice to their relations, and such friends and neighbours, as they desire should be the witnesses of their marriage: where they take one another by the hand, and, by name, promise reciprocally love and fidelity, after the manner before expressed. Of all which proceedings, a narrative, in way of certificate, is made, to which the said parties first set their hands, thereby making it their act and deed; and then divers relations, spectators, and auditors set their names, as witnesses of what they said and signed. And this certificate is afterwards registered in the record belonging to the meeting where the marriage is solemnized. Which regular method has been, as it deserves, adjudged, in courts of law, *a good marriage*; where it has been by cross and ill people
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disputed and contested, for want of the accustomed formalities of priest and ring, &c. Ceremonies they have refused; not out of humour, but conscience reasonably grounded; inasmuch as no scripture-example tells us, that the priest had any other part, of old time, than that of a witness among the rest, before whom the Jews used to take one another: and therefore this people look upon it as an imposition, to advance the power and profits of the clergy: and for the use of the ring, it is enough to say, that it was an heathenish and vain custom, and never in practice among the people of God, *Jews*, or *primitive Christians*: the words of the usual form, as, '*with my body I thee worship,*' &c. are hardly defensible. In short, they are more careful, exact, and regular, than any form now used; and it is free of the inconveniences with which other methods are attended: their care and checks being so many, and such, as that no clandestine marriage can be performed among them.

XI. It may not be unfit to say something here of their *births* and *burials*, which make up so much of the pomp and solemnity of too many called Christians. For *births*, the *parents* name their own children; which is usually some days after they are born, in the presence of the midwife, if she can be there, and those that were at the birth, who afterwards sign a certificate, for that purpose prepared, of the birth or name of the child or children; which is recorded in a proper book, in the monthly meeting to which the parents belong; avoiding the accustomed ceremonies and festivals.

XII. Their *burials* are performed with the same simplicity. If the *body* of the deceased be near any public meeting-place, it is usually carried thither, for the more convenient reception of those that accompany it to the burying-ground. And it so falls out sometimes, that while the meeting is gathering for the burial, some or other has a word of exhortation, for the sake of the people there met together. After which, the body is borne away by young men, or else those that are of their neighbourhood, or those that were most of the in-

timacy of the deceased party: the corpse being in a plain coffin, without any covering or furniture upon it. At the ground, they pause some time before they put the body into its grave, that if any there should have any thing upon them to exhort the people, they may not be disappointed, and that the relations may the more retiredly and solemnly take their last leave of the body of their departed kindred, and the spectators have a sense of mortality, by the occasion then given them to reflect upon their own latter end. Otherwise, they have no set rites or ceremonies on those occasions. Neither do the kindred of the deceased ever wear mourning; they looking upon it as a worldly ceremony and piece of pomp; and that what mourning is fit for a Christian to have, at the departure of a beloved relation or friend, should be worn in the mind, which only is sensible of the loss; and the love they had to them, and remembrance of them, to be outwardly expressed by a respect to their advice, and care of those they have left behind them, and their love of that they loved. Which conduct of theirs, though unmodish or unfashionable, leaves nothing of the substance of things neglected or undone: and as they aim at no more, so that simplicity of life is what they observe with great satisfaction; though it sometimes happens not to be without the mockeries of the vain world they live in.

These things, to be sure, gave them a rough and disagreeable appearance with the generality; who thought them "turners of the world upside down," as indeed, in some sense, they were: but in no other than that wherein Paul was so charged, viz. To bring things back into their primitive and right order again. For these and such like practices of theirs were not the result of humour, or for civil distinction, as some have fancied, but a fruit of inward sense, which God, through his holy fear, had begotten in them. They did not consider how to contradict the world, or distinguish themselves as a party from others; it being none of their business, as it was not their interest: no, it was not the result of consultation, or a framed design, by which

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to declare or recommend schism or novelty. But God having given them a sight of themselves, they saw the whole world in the same glass of truth; and sensibly discerned the affections and passions of men, and the rise and tendency of things; what it was that gratified the "lust of the flesh, the lust of the eye, and the pride of life, which are not of the Father, but of the world." And from thence sprang, in the night of darkness and apostasy, which hath been over people, through their degenerations from the Light and Spirit of God, these and many other vain customs, which are seen, by the heavenly day of Christ, that dawns in the soul, to be either wrong in their original; or, by time and abuse, hurtful in their practice. And though these things seemed trivial to some, and rendered these people stingy and conceited in such persons opinion, there was, and is, more in them, than they were, or are, aware of.

It was not very easy to our primitive friends to make themselves sights and spectacles, and the scorn and derision of the world; which they easily foresaw must be the consequence of so unfashionable a conversation in it: but here was the wisdom of God seen, in the foolishness of these things; first, That they discovered the *satisfaction* and *concern* that people had in and for the fashions of this world, notwithstanding their high pretences to another; in that any disappointment about them came so very near them, as that the greatest honesty, virtue, wisdom, and ability, were unwelcome *without* them. Secondly, It seasonably and profitably divided *conversation*: for this making their society uneasy to their relations and acquaintance, it gave them the opportunity of more *retirement* and *solitude*; wherein they met with better company, even the *Lord God*, their *Redeemer*; and grew strong in his love, power, and wisdom, and were thereby better qualified for his service. And the success abundantly shewed it: blessed be the name of the Lord.

And though they were not great and learned in the esteem of this world (for then they had not wanted fol-

lowers upon their own credit and authority) yet they were generally of the *most sober* of the several persuasions they were in, and of the *most repute* for religion; and many of them of *good capacity, substance,* and account among men.

And also some among them wanted not for parts, learning, or estate; though then, as of old, "not many wise, or noble, &c. were called;" or at least *received* the heavenly call, because of the cross that attended the profession of it in sincerity. But neither do parts or learning make men the better Christians, though the better orators and disputants; and it is the ignorance of people about the divine gift, that causes that vulgar and mischievous mistake. *Theory* and *practice, speculation* and *enjoyment, words* and *life,* are two things. O it is the penitent, the reformed, the lowly, the watchful, the self-denying and holy soul, that is the *Christian!* and that frame is the fruit and work of the *Spirit,* which is the life of Jesus: whose life, though hid, in the fulness of it, in God the Father, is shed abroad in the hearts of them that truly believe, according to their capacity. O that people did but know this to cleanse them, to circumcise them, to quicken them, and to make them *new* creatures indeed! *re-created,* or *re-generated,* after Christ Jesus, unto good works; that they might live to God, and not to themselves; and offer up *living* prayers and *living* praises, to the living God, through his own living spirit, in which he is only to be worshipped in this gospel day.

O that they that read me could but feel me! for my heart is affected with this *merciful visitation* of the Father of lights and spirits to this poor nation, and the whole world, through the same testimony. Why should the inhabitants thereof reject it? Why should they lose the blessed benefit of it? Why should they not turn to the Lord with all their hearts, and say from the heart, 'Speak, Lord, for now thy poor servants hear? O that thy will may be done; thy great, thy good, and thy *holy will,* in earth, as it is in heaven! Do it in us, do

‘ it upon us, do what thou wilt with us; for we are
 ‘ thine, and desire to glorify thee, our Creator, both
 ‘ for that, and because thou art our Redeemer; for
 ‘ thou art redeeming us from the earth, from the vani-
 ‘ ties and pollutions of it, to be a peculiar people unto
 ‘ thee.’ O this were a brave day for England, if so
 she could say in truth! But, alas! the case is other-
 wise; for which some of thine inhabitants, O land of
 my nativity! have mourned over thee with bitter wail-
 ing and lamentation. Their heads have been indeed
 as “ waters, and their eyes as fountains of tears,” be-
 cause of thy transgression and stiff-neckedness; because
 thou wilt not hear, and fear, and return to the rock,
 even *thy* rock, O England! from whence thou art hewn.
 But be thou warned, O land of great profession, to re-
 ceive him into thy heart. Behold, *at that door* it is he
 hath stood so long knocking! but thou wilt yet have
 none of him. O be thou awakened, lest Jerusalem’s
judgments do swiftly overtake thee, because of Jerusalem’s
sins that abound in thee. For she abounded in *formality*,
 but made *void* the weighty things of God’s law, as
 thou daily dost.

She withstood the Son of God in the *flesh*, and *thou*
 resistest the Son of God in the *spirit*. He would have
 gathered *her*, as an hen gathereth her chickens under
 her wings, and she would not; so would he have
 gathered *thee* out of thy *lifeless* profession, and have
 brought thee to inherit *substance*; to have known his
 power and kingdom: for which he often knocked *with-*
in, by his grace and Spirit; and *without*, by his ser-
 vants and witnesses: but, on the contrary, as Jerusalem
 of old persecuted the manifestation of the Son of God
 in the flesh, and crucified him; and whipped and im-
 prisoned his servants; so hast thou, O land! crucified
 to thyself *afresh* the Lord of life and glory, and done
despite to his Spirit of grace; slighting the Fatherly
 visitation, and persecuting the blessed dispensers of it
 by thy laws and magistrates; though they have early
 and late pleaded with thee, in the power and Spirit of
 the Lord, in love and meekness, that thou mightest

know the Lord, and serve him, and become the glory of all lands.

But thou hast evilly entreated and requited them, thou hast set at *nought* all their counsel, and wouldest have *none* of their reproof, as thou shouldest have had. Their appearance was *too strait*, and their qualifications were *too mean* for thee to receive them; like the Jews of old, that cried, "Is not this the carpenter's son, and are not his brethren among us? Which of the scribes, of the learned (the orthodox) believe in him?" Propheying their fall in a year or two, and making and executing of severe laws to bring it to pass: endeavouring to terrify them out of their holy way, or destroy them for abiding faithful to it. But thou hast seen how many governments, that rose against them, and determined their downfall, have been overturned and extinguished, and that they are still preserved, and become a great and a considerable people, among the middle sort of thy numerous inhabitants. And, notwithstanding the many difficulties, without and within, which they have laboured under, since the Lord God Eternal first gathered them, they are an increasing people; the Lord still adding unto them, in divers parts, such as shall be saved, if they persevere to the end. And to thee, O England! were they, and are they, lifted up as a standard, and as a city set upon a hill, and to the nations round about thee, that in *their* light *thou* mayest come to see light, even in Christ Jesus, the light of the *world*, and therefore *thy* light and *life* too, if thou wouldest but turn from thy many evil ways, and receive and obey it. "For in the light of the lamb must the nations of them that are saved walk," as the scripture testifies.

Remember, O nation of great profession! how the Lord has waited upon thee since the dawning of reformation, and the many mercies and judgments by which he has pleaded with thee; and awake and arise out of thy deep sleep, and yet hear his word in thy *heart*, that thou mayest live.

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Let not this thy day of visitation pass over thy head, nor neglect thou so great salvation as is this, which is come to thy house, O England! For why shouldest thou die? O land that God desires to bless! be assured it is *he* that has been in the midst of *this people*, in the midst of thee; and not a delusion, as thy mistaken teachers have made thee believe. And this thou shalt find by their marks and fruits, if thou wilt consider them in the spirit of moderation.

C H A P. III.

Of the qualifications of their ministry. Eleven marks that it is Christian.

I. **T**HEY were *changed men themselves* before they went about to change *others*. Their *hearts* were rent as well as their garments; and they knew the power and work of God upon them. And this was seen by the great alteration it made, and their stricter course of life, and more godly conversation, that immediately followed upon it.

II. They went not forth, or preached, in their *own* time or will, but in the *will of God*; and spoke not their own studied matter, but as they were opened and moved of his Spirit, with which they were well acquainted in their own conversion: which cannot be expressed to carnal men, so as to give them any intelligible account; for to such it is, as Christ said, "like the blowing of the wind, which no man knows whence it cometh, or whither it goeth." Yet this proof and zeal went along with their ministry, that many were turned from their lifeless professions, and the evil of their ways, to an inward and experimental knowledge of God, and an holy life, as thousands can witness. And as they freely *received what they* say from the Lord, so they *freely admini-* others.

III. The bent and stress of their ministry, was conversion to God; *regeneration* and *holiness*. Not schemes of doctrines and verbal creeds, or new forms of worship; but a leaving-off, in religion, the superfluous, and reducing the ceremonious and formal part, and pressing earnestly the *substantial*, the *necessary*, and *profitable* part to the soul; as all, upon a serious reflection, must and do acknowledge.

IV. They directed people to a principle *in* themselves, though not *of* themselves, by which all that they asserted, preached and exhorted others to, might be wrought in them, and known to them, through experience, to be true: which is an high and distinguishing mark of the truth of their ministry, both that they *knew* what they said, and were not afraid of coming to the test. For as they were bold from certainty, so they required conformity upon no human authority, but upon conviction, and the conviction of *this principle*; which they asserted was in them that they *preached* unto, and unto that they directed them, that they might examine and prove the reality of those things which they had affirmed of it, as to its manifestation and work in man. And this is more than the many ministers in the world pretend to. They *declare* of religion, say many things true, in *words*, of God, Christ, and the Spirit; of holiness and heaven; that all men should repent and amend their lives, or they will go to hell, &c. but which of them all pretend to speak of their own *knowledge* and *experience*? Or ever directed to a divine principle, or agent, placed of God *in* man, to help him; and how to know it, and wait to feel its power to work that good and acceptable will of God in them.

Some of them, indeed, have spoken of the *spirit*, and the operations of it to sanctification, and performance of worship to God; but *where*, and *how* to find it, and *wait* in it to perform our duty to God, was yet *as a* mystery to be declared by this farther degree of reformation. So that this people did, not only in words, more than equally press repentance, conversion, and holiness, but did it knowingly and experimentally; and

and directed those, to whom they preached, to a sufficient principle; and told them where it was, and by what tokens they might know it, and which way they might experience the power and efficacy of it to their souls happiness; which is more than *theory* and *speculation*, upon which most other ministers depend: for here is certainty, a bottom upon which man may boldly appear before God in the great day of account.

V. They reached to the inward state and condition of people, which is an evidence of the virtue of their principle, and of their ministring from it, and not from their own imaginations, glosses, or comments upon scripture. For nothing reaches the heart, but what is *from* the heart, or pierces the conscience, but what comes from a *living* conscience. Inasmuch as it hath often happened, where people have, under secrecy, revealed their state or condition to some choice friends, for advice or ease, they have been so particularly directed in the ministry of this people, that they have challenged their friends with discovering their secrets, and telling their preachers their cases, to whom a word had not been spoken. Yea, the very thoughts and purposes of the hearts of many have been so plainly detected, that they have, like Nathaniel, cried out, of this inward appearance of Christ, "Thou art the Son of God, thou art the King of Israel." And those that have embraced this divine principle, have found this mark of its truth and divinity (that the woman of Samaria did of Christ, when in the flesh, to be the Messiah) viz. "It had told them all that ever they had done;" shown them their insides, the most inward secrets of their hearts, and laid judgment to the line, and righteousness to the plummet; of which thousands can at this day give in their witnesses. So that nothing has been affirmed by this people, of the power and virtue of this heavenly principle, that such as have turned to it have not found true, and more; and that one half had not been told to them of what they have seen of wisdom, and goodness of God

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VI. The *accomplishments* with which this principle fitted even some of the meanest of this people for their work and service: furnishing some of them with an extraordinary understanding in divine things, and an admirable fluency, and taking way of expression; which gave occasion to some to wonder, saying of them, as of their Master, 'Is not this such a mechanick's son? How came he by this learning?' As from thence others took occasion to suspect and insinuate they were Jesuits in disguise, who had the reputation of learned men for an age past: though there was not the least ground of truth for any such reflection; in that their ministers are known, the place of their abode, their kindred and education.

VII. That they came forth *low*, and *despised*, and *bated*, as the primitive Christians did; and not by the help of worldly wisdom or power, as former reformations, in part, had done: but in all things it may be said, 'This people were brought forth in the cross; in a contradiction to the ways, worships, fashions, and customs of this world; yea, against wind and tide, that so no flesh might glory before God.'

VIII. They could have *no design to themselves* in this work, thus to expose themselves to *scorn* and *abuse*, to spend, and be spent: leaving wife and children, house and land, and all that can be accounted dear to men, with their lives in their hands, being daily in jeopardy, to declare this *primitive message*, revived in their spirits by the good Spirit and power of God, viz.

" That God is light, and in him is no darknes at all;
 " and that he has sent his Son a light into the world, to
 " enlighten all men in order to salvation; and that
 " they that say they have fellowship with God, and
 " are his children and people, and yet walk in darknes,
 " (viz. in disobedience to the light in their consciences)
 " and after the vanity of this world, they *lie*, and do
 " not the *truth*. But that all such as love the light,
 " and bring their deeds to it, and walk in the light,
 " as God is light, the blood of Jesus Christ his Son
 " should

“ should cleanse them from all sin.” Thus John i. 4, 19. chap. iii. 20, 21. 1 John i. 5, 6, 7.

IX. Their known great constancy and patience in suffering for their testimony, in all the branches of it; and that sometimes unto *death*, by *beatings*, *bruisings*, long and crowded *imprisonments*, and noisome *dungeons*: four of them in New-England, *dying* by the hands of the *executioner*, purely for *preaching* amongst that people: besides *banishments*, and excessive plunders and sequestrations of their *goods* and *estates*, almost in all parts, not easily to be expressed, and less to have been endured, but by those that have the support of a good and glorious cause; *refusing deliverance* by any *indirect* ways or means, as often as it was offered unto them.

X. That they not only did not show any disposition to *revenge*, when it was at any time in their power, but *forgave* their cruel enemies; shewing *mercy* to *those* that had *none* for *them*.

XI. Their *plainness* with those in authority, like the ancient prophets, not fearing to tell them, to their faces, of their private and publick sins; and their prophecies to them of their affliction and downfal, when in the top of their glory. Also of some national judgments, as of the *plague*, and *fire* of *London*, in express terms; and likewise *particular* ones to divers persecutors, which accordingly overtook them; and were very remarkable in the places where they dwelt, which in time may be made publick, for the glory of God.

Thus, reader, thou seest this people in their *rise*, *principles*, *ministry*, and *progress*, both their general and particular testimony; by which thou mayest be informed, how, and upon what foot, they sprang, and became so considerable a people. It remains next, that I shew also their *care*, *conduct*, and *discipline*, as a Christian and reformed society, that they might be found living up to their own principles and profession. And this the rather, because they have hardly suffered more in their character from the unjust charge of *error*, than by the false imputation of *disorder*: which calumny, indeed,

deed, has not failed to follow all the true steps that were ever made to *reformation*, and under which reproach none suffered more than the *primitive Christians themselves*, that were the honour of Christianity, and the great lights and examples of their own and succeeding ages.

C H A P. IV.

Of the discipline and practice of this PEOPLE, as a religious society. The church power they own and exercise, and that which they reject and condemn: with the method of their proceedings against erring and disorderly persons.

THIS people increasing daily both in town and country, an holy care fell upon some of the elders among them, for the benefit and service of the church. And the first business in their view, after the example of the primitive saints, was the *exercise of charity*; to supply the necessities of the poor, and answer the like occasions. Wherefore *collections* were early and liberally made, for that and divers other services in the church, and intrusted with faithful men, fearing God, and of good report, who were not weary in well-doing; adding often of *their own*, in large proportions, which they never brought to account, or desired should be known, much less restored to them, that none might want, nor any service be retarded or disappointed.

They were also very careful, that every one that belonged to them answered their profession in their behaviour among men, upon all occasions; that they lived peaceably, and were in all things good examples. They found themselves engaged to record their sufferings and services: and in case of marriage, (which they could not perform in the usual methods of the nation, but among themselves) they took care that all things were *clear* between the parties, and all others: and

and it was then rare that any one entertained an inclination to a person on that account, till he or she had communicated it secretly to some very weighty and eminent friends among them, that they might have a sense of the matter; looking to the counsel and unity of their brethren as of great moment to them. But because the charge of the poor, the number of orphans, marriages, sufferings, and other matters *multiplied*; and that it was good that the churches were in some way and method of proceeding in such affairs among them, to the end they might the better correspond upon occasion, where a member of one meeting might have to do with one of another; it pleased the Lord, in his wisdom and goodness, to open the understanding of the *first instrument* of this *dispensation* of *life*, about a good and orderly way of proceeding; who felt an holy concern to visit the churches in person throughout this nation, to begin and establish it among them: and by his *epistles*, the like was done in other nations and provinces abroad; which he also afterwards visited, and helped in that service, as shall be observed when I come to speak of him.

Now the care, conduct, and discipline, I have been speaking of, and which are now practised among this people, is as followeth.

This godly elder, in every county where he travelled, exhorted them, that *some*, out of every meeting for worship, should meet together once in the month, to confer about the wants and occasions of the church. And as the case required, so those *monthly meetings* were fewer or more in number in every respective county: four or six meetings for worship, usually making *one monthly meeting for business*. And accordingly the brethren met him from place to place, and began the said meetings, viz. For the *poor, orphans, orderly walking, integrity* to their *profession, births, marriages, burials, sufferings, &c.* And that these *monthly meetings* should, in each county, make up *one quarterly meeting*, where the most zealous and eminent friends of the country should assemble to *communicate, advise, and help* one another,

another, especially when any business seemed difficult, or a *monthly meeting* was tender of determining a matter.

Also that these several *quarterly meetings* should digest the reports of their *monthly meetings*, and prepare one for each respective *county*, against the *yearly meeting*, in which all quarterly meetings resolve; which is held in *London*, where the churches in this nation, and other nations and provinces, meet by *chosen* members of their respective counties, both *mutually to communicate* their church-affairs, and to advise, and be advised, in any depending case, to edification. Also to provide a *requisite stock* for the discharge of general expences for general services in the church, not needful to be here particularized.

At these meetings, *any* of the members of the churches may come, if they please, and speak their minds freely, in the fear of God, to any matter: but the mind of each *quarterly meeting*, therein represented, is chiefly understood, as to particular cases, in the sense delivered by the persons deputed, or chosen for that service by the said meeting.

During their yearly meeting, to which their other meetings refer in their order, and naturally resolve themselves, care is taken, by a *select number* for that service, chosen by the general assembly, to draw up the minutes of the said meeting, upon the several matters that have been under consideration therein; to the end that the respective *quarterly* and *monthly* meetings may be informed of all proceedings; together with a general exhortation to holiness, unity, and charity. Of all which proceedings in yearly, monthly, and quarterly meetings, due *record* is kept, by some one appointed for that service, or that hath voluntarily undertaken it. These meetings are opened, and usually concluded, in their solemn waiting upon God, who is sometimes graciously pleased to answer them with as signal evidences of his love and presence, as in any of their meetings for worship.

It is farther to be noted, that in these solemn assemblies for the churches service, there is no one *presides* among them, after the manner of the assemblies of other people; CHRIST only being their president, as he is pleased to appear, in life and wisdom, in any one or more of them; to whom, whatever be their capacity or degree, the rest adhere with a firm unity, not of authority, but conviction; which is the divine authority and way of Christ's power and spirit in his people: making good his blessed promise, that "he would be " in the midst of his, where, and whenever they were " met together in his name, even to the end of the " world." So be it.

Now it may be expected, I should here set down what sort of authority is exercised by this people, upon such members of their society as correspond not in their lives with their profession, and that are refractory to this good and wholesome order settled among them; and the rather, because they have not wanted their reproach and sufferings from some tongues and pens, upon this occasion, in a plentiful manner.

The power they exercise, is such as Christ has given to his own people, to the end of the world, in the persons of his disciples, viz. ' To *oversee, exhort, reprove,* ' and, after long suffering and waiting upon the disobedient and refractory, to *disown* them, as any more ' of *their* communion; or that they will any longer ' stand charged, in the sight and judgment of God or ' men, with their conversation or behaviour, as any ' of *them*, until they *repent*.' The subject matter about which this authority, in any of the foregoing branches of it, is exercised, is, first, In relation to *common* and *general practice*: and, secondly, about those things that more strictly refer to their own character and profession, and which distinguish them from all other professors of Christianity; avoiding two extremes, upon which many split, viz. *Persecution* and *libertinism*: that is, a *coercive* power, to *whip* people into the temple; that such as will not conform, though against faith and conscience, shall be punished in their *persons* or *estates*:

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or leaving all loose, and at large, as to practice; and so unaccountable to all, but God and the magistrate. To which hurtful extreme, nothing has more contributed than the abuse of church-power, by such as suffer their passion and private interests to prevail with them to carry it to outward force and corporal punishment. A practice they have been taught to dislike, by their extreme sufferings, as well as their known principle for an *universal liberty of conscience*.

On the other hand, they equally dislike an *independency* in society: an *unaccountableness*, in practice and conversation, to the *rules and terms* of their own communion, and to those that are the members of it. They distinguish between imposing any practice that immediately regards *faith or worship* (which is *never* to be done, or suffered, or submitted unto) and requiring Christian compliance with those methods that only respect church-business in its more *civil* part and concern; and that regard the *discreet and orderly* maintenance of the character of the society, as a *sober and religious* community. In short, what is for the promotion of *holiness and charity*; that men may *practise* what they profess, *live up to* their own *principles*; and not be at liberty to give the *lie* to their own profession without rebuke, is their *use, and limit*, of church-power. They compel none *to them*, but oblige those that are *of them* to walk *suitably*, or they are *denied* by them: that is all the *mark* they set upon them, and the *power* they exercise, or judge a Christian society *can* exercise, upon those that are the members of it.

The way of their proceeding against such as have *lapsed or transgressed*, is this: he is *visited* by some of them, and the matter of fact laid *home* to him, be it any evil practice against known and general virtue, or any branch of their particular testimony, which he, in common, professeth with them. They labour with him, in much love and zeal, for the good of his soul, the honour of God, and reputation of their profession, to *own* his fault, and condemn it in as ample a manner, as the evil or scandal was *given* by him; which, for
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the most part, is performed by some *written testimony* under the party's hand: and if it so happen, that the party prove *refractory*, and is not willing to *clear* the truth they profess, from the reproach of his or her evil-doing or unfaithfulness, they, after repeated intreaties, and due waiting for a token of repentance, give forth a paper, to *disown* such a fact, and the party offending; *recording* the same, as a testimony of their care for the honour of the truth they profess.

And if he, or she, shall clear their *profession*, and *themselves*, by sincere acknowledgment of their fault, and godly sorrow for so doing, they are *received*, and looked upon again as members of their communion. For as *God*, so his *true* people, *upbraid no man* after *repentance*.

This is the account I had to give of the people of God called Quakers, as to their rise, appearance, principles, and practices in this age of the world, both with respect to their faith and worship, discipline, and conversation. And I judge it very proper in this place; because it is to preface the *journal* of the first blessed and glorious instrument of this work, and for a testimony to him, in his singular qualifications and services, in which he abundantly excelled in this day, and are worthy to be set forth as an example to all succeeding times, to the glory of the Most High God, and for a just memorial to that worthy and excellent man, his faithful servant and apostle to *this* generation of the world.

C H A P. V.

Of the *first instrument*, or person, by whom God was pleased to gather this people into the way they profess. His name *G. Fox*: his many excellent qualifications; shewing a divine, and not an human power, to have been their original in him. His troubles and sufferings, both from without and within. His end and triumph.

I AM now come to the third head or branch of my preface, viz. the instrumental author. For it is natural for some to say, 'Well; here is the people and work, but where and who was the *man*, the *instrument*? He that, in this age, was sent to begin this work and people?' I shall, as God shall enable me, declare who and what he was; not only by report of others, but from my own long and most inward converse, and intimate knowledge of him: for which my soul blesteth God, as it hath often done: and I doubt not, but by that time I have discharged myself of this part of my preface, my serious readers will believe I had good cause so to do.

The blessed instrument of, and in, this day of God, and of whom I am now about to write, was *George Fox*, distinguished from another of that name, by that other's addition of younger to his name, in all his writings; not that he was so in years, but that he was so in the truth: but he, also, was a worthy man, witness, and servant of God, in his time.

But this *George Fox* was born in *Leicestershire*, about the year 1624. He descended of honest and sufficient parents, who endeavoured to bring him up, as they did the rest of their children, in the way and worship of the nation: especially his mother, who was a woman accomplished above most of her degree in the place where she lived. But, from a child, he appeared of another frame of mind from the rest of his brethren; being more religious, inward, still, solid, and

and observing beyond his years, as the answers he would give, and the questions he would put, upon occasion, manifested, to the astonishment of those that heard him, especially in *divine* things.

His mother taking notice of his singular temper, and the gravity, wisdom, and piety, that very early shined through him, refusing childish and vain sports and company, when very young, she was tender and indulgent over him, so that from her he met with little difficulty. As to his employment, he was brought up in country business; and as he took most delight in sheep, so he was very skilful in them; an employment that very well suited his mind in several respects, both for its innocency and solitude; and was a just emblem of his after ministry and service.

I shall not break in upon his own account, which is by much the best that can be given; and therefore desire, what I can, to avoid saying any thing of what is said already, as to the particular passages of his coming forth: but, in general, when he was somewhat above twenty, he left his friends, and visited the most retired and religious people in those parts: and some there were, short of few, if any, in this nation, who “waited for the Consolation of Israel, night and day;” as Zacharias, Anna, and good old Simeon, did of old time. To these he was sent, and these he sought out in the neighbouring counties, and among them he sojourned till his more ample ministry came upon him. At this time he taught, and was an example of, *silence*, endeavouring to bring them from self-performances: testifying of, and turning them to, the light of Christ *within* them, and encouraging them to wait in patience, and to feel the power of it to stir in their hearts, that their knowledge and worship of God might stand in the power of an endless life, which was to be found in the light, as it was obeyed in the manifestation of it in man. For “in the Word was life, and that life is the light of men.” *Life* in the Word, *light* in men; and life in *men* too, as the light is obeyed: the children of the light living

by the *life* of the Word, by which the Word begets them again to God, which is the *regeneration* and *new birth*; without which there is no coming into the kingdom of God; and to which, whoever comes, is *greater* than *John*; that is, than John's *dispensation*, which was not that of the kingdom, but the consummation of the *legal*, and fore-running of the *gospel*-times, the time of the kingdom. Accordingly several meetings were gathered in those parts; and thus his time was employed for some years.

In 1652, he being in his usual retirement, his mind exercised towards the Lord, upon a very high mountain, (in some of the hither parts of Yorkshire, as I take it) he had a vision of the great work of God in the earth, and of the way that he was to go forth in a publick ministry, to begin it. He saw people, as thick as *motes* in the *sun*, that should, in time, be brought home to the Lord, that there might be but "One Shepherd and one sheepfold in all the earth." There his eye was directed northward, beholding a great people that should receive him and his message in those parts. Upon this mountain he was moved of the Lord to sound out his *great* and *notable day*, as if he had been in a great auditory; and from thence went north, as the Lord had shewn him. And in every place where he came, if not before he came to it, he had his particular exercise and service shewn to him, so that the Lord was his *leader* indeed. For it was not in vain that he travelled; God, in most places, sealing his commission with the convincement of some of all sorts, as well publicans, as sober professors of religion. Some of the first and most eminent of those that came forth in a publick ministry, and which are now at rest, were Richard Farnsworth, James Nayler, William Dewsberry, Thomas Aldam, Francis Howgil, Edward Burroughs, John Camm; John Audland, Richard Hubberthorn, T. Taylor, T. Holmes, Alexander Parker, William Simson, William Caton, John Stubbs, Robert Withers, Tho. Low, Josiah Cole, John Burnyeat, Robert Lodge, Thomas Salthouse, and many

many more worthies, that cannot be well here named; together with divers, yet living, of the first and great convincement; who after the knowledge of God's purging judgment in themselves, and some time of waiting in silence upon him, to feel and receive power from on high, to speak in his name, (which none else rightly can, though they may use the same words) they felt its divine motions, and were frequently drawn forth, especially to visit the publick assemblies, to reprove, inform, and exhort them: sometimes in markets, fairs, streets, and by the highway-side; calling people to repentance, and to turn to the Lord with their hearts, as well as their mouths; directing them to the light of Christ within them, to see, examine, and consider their ways by, and to eschew the evil, and do the good and acceptable will of God. And they suffered great hardships for this their love and good-will; being often stocked, stoned, beaten, whipped, and imprisoned; though honest men, and of good report where they lived; that had left wives, children, and houses and lands to visit them with a living call to repentance. And though the priests generally set themselves to oppose them, and write against them, and insinuated most false and scandalous stories, to defame them; stirring up the magistrates to suppress them, especially in those northern parts; yet God was pleased so to fill them with his living power, and give them such an open door of utterance in his service, that there was a mighty convincement over those parts.

And through the tender and singular indulgence of judge Bradshaw and judge Fell, and colonel West, in the infancy of things, the priests were never able to gain the point they laboured for, which was to have proceeded to blood; and, if possible, Herod-like, by a cruel exercise of the civil power, to have cut them off, and rooted them out of the country. But especially judge Fell, who was not only a check to their rage in the course of legal proceedings, but otherwise, upon occasion; and finally countenanced this people.

For his wife receiving the truth with the first, it had that influence upon his spirit, being a just and wise man, and seeing in his own wife and family a full confutation of all the popular clamours against the way of truth, that he covered them what he could, and freely opened his doors, and gave up his house to his wife and her friends; not valuing the reproach of ignorant or of evil-minded people; which I here mention, to his or her honour, and which will be, I believe, an honour and a blessing to such of their name and family as shall be found in that tenderness, humility, love and zeal for the truth and people of the Lord.

That house was for some years, at first especially, until the truth had opened its way into the southern parts of this island, an eminent receptacle of this people. Others, of good note and substance in those northern counties, had also opened their houses, together with their hearts, to the many publishers, that, in a short time, the Lord had raised to declare his salvation to the people; and where meetings of the Lord's messengers were frequently held, to communicate their services and exercises, and comfort and edify one another in their blessed ministry.

But lest this may be thought a digression, having touched upon this before, I return to this excellent man: and for his personal qualities, both natural, moral, and divine, as they appeared in his converse with the brethren, and in the church of God, take as follows:

I. He was a man that God endued with a clear and wonderful depth: a discerner of others spirits, and very much a master of his own. And though that side of his understanding which lay next to the world, and especially the expression of it, might sound uncouth and unfashionable to nice ears, his matter was nevertheless very profound; and would not only bear to be often considered, but the more it was so, the more weighty and instructing it appeared. And as
abruptly

abruptly and *brokenly* as sometimes his sentences would seem to fall from him, about divine things, it is well known they were often as *texts* to many fairer declarations. And, indeed, it shewed, beyond all contradiction, that *God* sent him; in that no *art* or *parts* had any share in the *matter* or *manner* of his *ministry*; and that so many great, excellent, and necessary truths, as he came forth to preach to mankind, had therefore nothing of man's wit or wisdom to recommend them. So that as to man, he was an *original*, being no man's copy. And his ministry and writings shew they are from one that was not taught of man, nor had learned what he said by study. Nor were they notional or speculative, but sensible and practical truths, tending to conversion and regeneration, and the setting up of the kingdom of God in the hearts of men; and the way of it was his work. So that I have many times been overcome in myself, and been made to say, with my Lord and Master, upon the like occasion, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent of this world, and revealed them to babes:" for many times hath my soul bowed, in an humble thankfulness to the Lord, that he did not choose any of the wise and learned of this world to be the *first* messenger, in our age, of his blessed truth to men; but that he took one that was not of *high degree*, or *elegant speech*, or *learned* after the way of this world, that his message and work, he sent him to do, might come with *less suspicion*, or jealousy of human wisdom and interest, and with more *force* and *clearness* upon the *consciencs* of those that sincerely sought the way of truth in the love of it. I say, beholding with the eye of my mind, which the God of heaven had opened in me, the marks of God's finger and hand *visibly*, in this testimony, from the clearness of the principle, the power and efficacy of it, in the exemplary sobriety, plainness, zeal, steadiness, humility, gravity, punctuality, charity, and *circumspect* care in the government of church affairs, which shined in his and

their life and testimony that God employed in this work, it greatly confirmed me that it was of *God*, and engaged my soul in a deep love, fear, reverence, and thankfulness, for his love and mercy therein to mankind: in which mind I remain, and shall, I hope, through the Lord's strength, to the end of my days.

II. In his testimony or ministry, he much laboured to open truth to the people's understandings, and to bottom them upon the *principle* and *principal*, Christ Jesus, the light of the world; that by bringing them to something that was from God in themselves, they might the better know and judge of him and themselves.

III. He had an extraordinary gift in opening the scriptures. He would go to the marrow of things, and shew the mind, harmony, and fulfilling of them with much plainness, and to great comfort and edification.

IV. The mystery of the first and second Adam, of the fall and restoration, of the law and gospel, of shadows and substance, of the servant's and Son's state, and the fulfilling of the scriptures in *Christ*, and by Christ, the True Light, in all that are his, through the obedience of faith, were much of the substance and drift of his testimonies. In all which he was witnessed to be of God; being sensibly felt to speak that which he had received of Christ, and was his own experience, in that which never errs nor fails.

V. But, above all, he excelled in *prayer*. The inwardness and weight of his spirit, the reverence and solemnity of his address and behaviour, and the fewness and fulness of his words, have often struck even strangers with admiration, as they used to reach others with consolation. The most awful, living, reverent frame I ever felt or beheld, I must say, was *his* in prayer. And truly it was a testimony he knew and lived nearer to the Lord than other men; for they that know him most, will see most reason to approach him with reverence and fear,

VI. He

VI. He was of an *innocent life*, no *busy body*, nor *self-seeker*; neither *touchy* nor *critical*: what fell from him was very inoffensive, if not very edifying. So meek, contented, modest, easy, steady, tender, it was a pleasure to be in his company. He exercised no authority but over evil; and that every where, and in all; but with love, compassion, and long-suffering. A most merciful man, as ready to forgive, as unapt to take or give an offence. Thousands can truly say he was of an excellent spirit and favour among them; and because thereof, the most excellent spirits loved him with an unfeigned and unfading love.

VII. He was an *incessant labourer*: for in his younger time, before his many, great and deep sufferings and travails had enfeebled his body for itinerant services, he laboured much in the word and doctrine, and discipline, in England, Scotland, and Ireland; turning many to God, and confirming those that were convinced of the truth, and settling good order, as to church affairs, among them. And towards the conclusion of his travelling services, between the years seventy-one and seventy-seven, he visited the churches of Christ in the plantations in America, and in the United Provinces, and Germany, as his journal relates; to the conviction and consolation of many. After that time he chiefly resided in and about the city of London: and besides his labour in the ministry, which was frequent and serviceable, he writ much, both to them that are within, and those that are without the communion. But the care he took of the affairs of the church in general was very great.

VIII. He was often where the *records* of the business of the church are kept, and where the letters from the many meetings of God's people over all the world use to come: which letters he had read to him, and communicated them to the meeting, that is weekly held, for such services; and he would be sure to stir them up to answer them, especially in suffering cases; shewing great sympathy and compassion upon all such occasions; carefully looking into the respective cases,
and

and endeavouring speedy relief, according to the nature of them. So that the churches, or any of the suffering members thereof, were sure not to be forgotten or delayed in their desires, if he were there.

IX. As he was unwearied, so he was undaunted, in his services for God and his people: he was no more to be moved to fear than to wrath. His behaviour at Derby, Litchfield, Appleby, before Oliver Cromwell, at Launceston, Scarborough, Worcester, and Westminster-Hall, with many other places and exercises, did abundantly evidence it, to his enemies as well as his friends.

But as, in the primitive times, some rose up against the blessed apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ, even from among those that they had turned to the hope of the gospel, and they became their greatest trouble; so this man of God had his share of suffering from some that were convinced by him, who, through prejudice or mistake, ran against him, as one that sought dominion over conscience, because he pressed, by his presence or epistles, a ready and zealous compliance with such good and wholesome things as tended to an orderly conversation about the affairs of the church, and in their walking before men. That which contributed much to this ill work, was, in some, a begrudging of this meek man the love and esteem he had, and deserved, in the hearts of the people; and weakness in others, that were taken with their groundless suggestions of imposition and blind obedience.

They would have had every man independent, that as he had the principle in himself, he should only stand and fall to that, and no body else: not considering, that the principle is one in all; and though the measure of light or grace might differ, yet the nature of it was the same; and being so, they struck at the spiritual unity, which a people, guided by the same principle, are naturally led into: so that what is an evil to one, is so to all, and what is virtuous, honest, and of good report to one, is so to all, from the sense and favour of the one universal principle which is common to all,
and

and which the disaffected also profess to be the root of all true Christian fellowship, and that spirit into which the people of God drink, and come to be spiritually-minded, and of one heart and one soul.

Some weakly mistook good order in the government of church affairs, for discipline in *worship*, and that it was so pressed or recommended by him and other brethren. And thereupon they were ready to reflect the same things that Dissenters had very reasonably objected upon the national churches, that have coercively pressed conformity to their respective creeds and worships. Whereas these things related *wholly* to *conversion*, and the outward (and as I may say) *civil* part of the church; that men should walk up to the principles of their belief, and not be wanting in care and charity. But though some have stumbled and fallen through mistakes, and an unreasonable obstinacy, even to a prejudice; yet, blessed be God, the generality have returned to their first love, and seen the work of the enemy, that loses no opportunity or advantage by which he may check or hinder the work of God, and disquiet the peace of his church, and chill the love of his people to the truth, and one to another; and there is hope of divers of the few that yet are at a distance.

In all these occasions, though there was no person the discontented struck so sharply at, as this good man, he bore all their weakness and prejudice, and returned not reflection for reflection; but forgave them their weak and bitter speeches, praying for them that they might have a sense of their hurt, and see the subtilty of the enemy to rend and divide, and return into their first love that thought no ill.

And truly I must say, that though God had visibly clothed him with a divine preference and authority, and indeed his very presence expressed a religious majesty, yet he never abused it; but held his place in the church of God with great *meekness*, and a most engaging *humility* and *moderation*. For upon all occasions, like his blessed Master, he was a *servant to all*; holding and exercising his eldership in the invisible power that

that had gathered them, with reverence to the head, and care over the body; and was received, only in that spirit and power of Christ, as the first and chief elder in this age: who, as he was therefore worthy of double honour, so, for the same reason, it was given by the faithful of this day; because his authority was inward, and not outward, and that he got it and kept it by the love of God, and power of an endless life. I write my knowledge, and not report, and my witness is *true*; having been with him for weeks and months together on divers occasions, and those of the nearest and most exercising nature; and that by night and by day, by sea and by land, in this and in foreign countries; and I can say, I never saw him out of his place, or not a match for every service or occasion.

For in all things he acquitted himself like a man, yea, a strong man, a new and heavenly-minded man, a divine and a naturalist, and all of God Almighty's making. I have been surprised at his questions and answers in natural things; that whilst he was ignorant of *useless* and *sophistical* science, he had in him the grounds of useful and commendable knowledge, and cherished it every where. Civil, *beyond* all forms of breeding; in his behaviour: very temperate, eating little, and sleeping less, though a bulky person.

Thus he lived and sojourned among us: and as he lived, so he died; feeling the same eternal power, that had raised and preserved him, in his last moments. So full of *assurance* was he, that he triumphed over death; and so *even* in his spirit to the last, as if death were hardly worth notice, or a mention: recommending to some of us with him, the dispatch and dispersion of an epistle, just before given forth by him, to the churches of Christ throughout the world, and his own books: but, above all, friends; and of all friends, those in *Ireland* and *America*, twice over, saying, "Mind poor friends in *Ireland* and *America*."

And to some that came in, and inquired how he found himself, he answered, "Never heed, the Lord's power
" is over all weakness and death; the seed reigns,
" blessed

“blessed be the Lord:” which was about four or five hours before his departure out of this world. He was at the great meetings near Lombard-street, on the First-day of the week; and it was the third following, about ten at night, when he left us; being at the house of H. Goldney in the same court. In a good old age he went, after having lived to see his childrens children, in the truth, to many generations. He had the comfort of a short illness, and the blessing of a clear sense to the last: and we may truly say, with a man of God of old, that “being dead, he yet speaketh;” and though now absent in body, he is “present in Spirit:” neither time nor place being able to interrupt the communion of saints, or dissolve the fellowships of the spirits of the just. His works praise him, because they are to the praise of Him that wrought *by* him, for which his memorial is and shall be blessed. I have done, as to this part of my preface, when I have left this short epitaph to his name, “Many sons have done virtuously in this day; but, dear George, thou excellest them all.”

C H A P. VI.

Containing five several exhortations. First, general, reminding this people of their primitive integrity and simplicity. Secondly, in particular, to the ministry. Thirdly, to the *young convinced*. Fourthly, to the children of friends. Fifthly, to those that are yet strangers to this people and way, to whom this book, (and that it was preface to in its former edition) may come. All the several exhortations accommodated to their several states and conditions; that all may answer the end of God’s glory, and their own salvation.

AND now, Friends, you that profess to walk in the way that this blessed man was sent of God to turn us into, suffer, I beseech you, the word of exhortation, as well fathers as children, and elders as young men.

The

The glory of this day, and foundation of the hope that has not made us ashamed since we were a people, you know, is that blessed principle of light and life of Christ which we profess, and direct all people to, as the great and divine instrument and agent of man's conversion to God. It was by this that we were first touched, and effectually enlightened, as to our inward state; which put us upon the consideration of our latter end, causing us to set the Lord before our eyes, and to number our days, that we may apply our hearts to wisdom. In that day we judged not after the sight of the eye, or after the hearing of the ear; but according to the light and sense this blessed principle gave us, so we judged and acted in reference to things and persons, ourselves and others; yea, towards God our Maker. For being quickened by it in our inward man, we could easily discern the difference of things, and feel what was right, and what was wrong, and what was fit, and what not, both in reference to religious and civil concerns. That being the ground of the fellowship of all saints, it was in that our fellowship stood. In this we desired to have a sense of one another, acted towards one another, and all men, in love, faithfulness, and fear.

In feeling of the stirrings and motions of this principle in our hearts, we drew near to the Lord, and waited to be prepared by it, that we might feel drawings and movings before we approached the Lord in prayer, or opened our mouths in ministry. And in our beginning and ending with this, stood our comfort, service, and edification. And as we ran faster, or fell short, we made burthens for ourselves to bear; our services finding in ourselves a rebuke, instead of an acceptance; and in lieu of *well done*, "Who has required *this* at your hands?" In that day we were an exercised people, our very countenances and deportment declared it.

Care for others was then much upon us, as well as for ourselves; especially of the young convinced. Often had we the burthen of the word of the Lord to our neigh-

neighbours, relations, and acquaintance; and sometimes strangers also. We were in travail likewise for one another's preservation; not seeking, but shunning, occasions of any coldness or misunderstanding; treating one another as those that believed and felt God present. Which kept our conversation innocent, serious, and weighty; guarding ourselves against the cares and friendships of the world. We held the truth in the Spirit of it, and not in our own spirits, or after our own will and affections.

They were bowed and brought into subjection; in-somuch that it was visible to them that knew us. We did not think ourselves at our own disposal, to go where we list, or say or do what we list, or when we list. Our liberty stood in the liberty of the Spirit of truth; and no pleasure, no profit, no fear, no favour could draw us from this retired, strict, and watchful frame. We were so far from seeking occasion of company, that we avoided them what we could; pursuing our own business with moderation, instead of meddling with other people's unnecessarily.

Our words were few and favourable, our looks composed and weighty, and our whole deportment very observable. True it is, that this retired and strict sort of life from the liberty of the conversation of the world, exposed us to the censures of many, as humourists, conceited and self-righteous persons, &c. But it was our preservation from many snares, to which others were continually exposed, by the prevalency of the lust of the eye, the lust of the flesh, and the pride of life, that wanted no occasions or temptations to excite them abroad in the converse of the world.

I cannot forget the humility and chaste zeal of that day. O, how constant at meetings, how retired in them, how firm to truth's life, as well as truth's principles! and how intire and united in our communion! as indeed became those that profess one head, even Christ Jesus the Lord.

This being the testimony and example the man of God, before-mentioned, was sent to declare and leave
amongst

amongst us, and we having embraced the same, as the merciful visitation of God to us, the word of exhortation at this time is, ' That we continue to be found ' in the way of this testimony, with all zeal and integrity; and so much the more, by how much the ' day draweth near.'

And first, as to you, my beloved and much honoured brethren in Christ, that are in the exercise of the ministry: O, feel *life* in your ministry! let *life* be your commission, your well-spring and treasury, in all such occasions; else, you well know, there can be no begetting to God; since nothing can quicken or make people alive to God, but the life of God: and it must be a ministry in and from life, that enlivens any people to God. We have seen the fruit of all other ministers, by the few that are turned from the evil of their ways. It is not our *parts*, or *memory*, the repetition of *former* openings, in our own will and time, that will do God's work. A dry doctrinal ministry, however sound in words, can reach but the *ear*, and is but a dream at the best: there is another soundness, that is soundest of all, viz. ' Christ, the power of God.' This is " the key " of David, that opens, and none shuts; and shuts, " and none can open:" as the oil to the lamp, and the soul to the body, so is *that* to the best of words. Which made Christ to say, " My words, they are spirit, " and they are life;" that is, ' they are *from* life, and ' therefore they make you alive, that *receive* them.' If the disciples, that had lived with Jesus, were to stay at Jerusaleam, till *they* received it; much more must *we* wait to receive before we minister, if we will turn people from darkness to light, and from satan's power to God.

I fervently bow my knees to the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, that you may always be like-minded, that you may ever *wait reverently* for the coming and opening of the word of life, and attend upon it in your ministry and service, that you may serve God in his Spirit. And be it little, or be it much, it is well; for much is not *too* much, and the least is *enough*,

enough, if from the motion of God's Spirit; and without it, verily, never so little is too much, because to no profit.

For it is the Spirit of the Lord immediately, or through the ministry of his servants, that teacheth his people to profit; and, to be sure, so far as we take *him* along with us in our services, so far we are profitable, and no farther. For if it be the Lord that must work all things in us for our salvation, much more is it the Lord that must work in us for the conversion of *others*. If therefore it was once a cross to us to *speake*, though the Lord *required* it at our hands; let us never be so to be *silent*, when he does *not*.

It is one of the most dreadful sayings in the book of God, That "he that adds to the words of the prophecy of this book, God will add to him the plagues written in this book." To keep back the counsel of God, is as terrible; for "he that takes away from the words of the book of this prophecy, God shall take away his part out of the book of life." And truly, it has great caution in it, to those that *use* the name of the Lord, to be well assured the Lord *speaks*, that they may not be found of the number of those that add to the words of the testimony of prophecy, which the Lord giveth them to bear; nor yet to mince or diminish the same, both being so very offensive to God.

Wherefore, brethren, let us be careful neither to *out-go* our guide, nor yet loiter *behind* him; since he that makes haste, may *miss* his way, and he that stays *behind*, lose his *guide*. For even those that have *received* the word of the Lord, had need wait for wisdom, that they may see how to divide the word aright: which plainly implieth, that it is possible for one, that hath received the word of the Lord, to miss in the *dividing* and *application* of it, which must come from an *impatience* of spirit, and a *self-working*, which makes an unsound and dangerous *mixture*; and will hardly beget a right-minded living people to God.

I am earnest in this, above all considerations, as to publick brethren; well knowing how much it concerns the present and future state and preservation of the church of Christ Jesus, that has been gathered and built up by a living and powerful ministry, that the ministry be held, preserved, and continued in the manifestations, motions, and supplies of the same *life* and *power*, from time to time.

And where-ever it is observed, that any do minister more from *gifts* and *parts*, than *life* and *power*, though they have an enlightened and doctrinal understanding, let them in time be advised and admonished for their preservation; because, insensibly, such will come to depend upon a *self-sufficiency*, to forsake Christ, the *living fountain*, and hew out unto themselves *cisterns*, that will hold no living waters: and, by degrees, such will come to draw others from waiting upon the gift of God in themselves, and to feel it in others in order to their strength and refreshment, to wait upon *them*, and to turn from God to *man* again, and so make shipwreck of the faith, once delivered to the saints, and of a good conscience towards God; which are only kept by that divine gift of life, that begat the one, and awakened and sanctified the other, in the beginning.

Nor is it enough, that we have known the divine gift, and in it have reached to "the spirits in prison," and been the instruments of the convincing of others of the way of God, if we keep not as low and poor in ourselves, and as depending upon the Lord, as ever: since no *memory*, no *repetitions* of former openings, revelations, or enjoyments, will bring a soul to God, or afford *bread* to the hungry, or *water* to the thirsty, unless *life* go with what we say, and that must be *waited* for.

O that we may have *no other* fountain, treasure, or dependence! That none may presume, at any rate, to act of themselves *for* God, because they have long acted *from* God; that we may not supply want of waiting with our own wisdom, or think that we may take less care, and more liberty in speaking than formerly; and that where we do not feel the Lord, by his

his power, to open us and enlarge us, whatever be the expectation of the people, or has been our customary supply and character, we may not exceed, or fill up the time, with our own.

I hope we shall ever remember, who it was that said, "Of yourselves you can do nothing:" our sufficiency is in Him. And if we are not to speak our own words, or take *thought* what we should say to men in our defence, when exposed for our testimony; surely we ought to speak none of our *own words*, or take *thought* what we shall say, in our testimony and ministry, in the name of the Lord, to the souls of the people: for then, of all times, and of all other occasions, should it be fulfilled in us, "for it is not you that speak, but the Spirit of my Father that speaketh in you."

And, indeed, the *ministry* of the Spirit must, and does, keep its analogy and agreement with the *birth* of the Spirit; that as no man can inherit the kingdom of God, "unless he be born of the Spirit," so no ministry can beget a soul to God, but that which is *from* the Spirit. For this, as I said before, the disciples waited before they went forth; and in this, our elder brethren, and messengers of God in our day, waited, visited, and reached us; and having *begun* in the *Spirit*, let none ever hope or seek to be made *perfect* in the *flesh*: for what is the flesh to the Spirit, or the chaff to the wheat? And if we keep in the *Spirit*, we shall keep in the *unity* of it, which is the ground of the *fellowship*. For by *drinking* into that *one Spirit*, we are made *one people* to God, and by it we are continued in the unity of the faith, and the bond of peace. No *envying*, no *bitterness*, no *strife*, can have place with us. We shall watch always for good, and not for evil, one over another; and rejoice exceedingly, and not begrudge at one another's increase in the riches of the grace with which God replenisheth his faithful servants.

And, brethren, as to you is committed the dispensation of the oracles of God, which give you frequent opportunities, and great place, with the people among

whom you travel, I beseech you that you would not think it sufficient to declare the word of life in their assemblies, however edifying and comfortable such opportunities may be to you and them: but, as was the practice of the man of God before-mentioned, in great measure, when among us, inquire the *state* of the several churches you visit; who among them are *afflicted* or *sick*, who are *tempted*, and if any are *unfaithful* or *obstinate*; and endeavour to issue those things in the wisdom and power of God, which will be a glorious crown upon your ministry. As *that* prepares your way in the hearts of the people, to receive you as men of God, so it gives you credit with them to do them good by your advice in other respects; the afflicted will be comforted by you, the tempted strengthened, the sick refreshed, the unfaithful convicted and restored, and such as are obstinate, softened and fitted for reconciliation, which is clinching the nail, and applying and fastening the general testimony, by this particular care of the several branches of it, in reference to them more immediately concerned in it.

For though good and wise men, and elders too, may reside in such places, who are of worth and importance in the general, and in other places; yet it does not always follow, that they may have the room they deserve in the hearts of the people they live among; or some particular occasion may make it unfit for him or them to use that authority. But you that travail as God's messengers, if they receive you in the greater, shall they refuse you in the less? And if they own the *general* testimony, can they withstand the particular application of it, in their own cases? Thus, ye will shew yourselves workmen indeed, and carry your business before you, to the praise of his name, that hath called you from darkness to light, that you might turn others from satan's power unto God and his kingdom, which is within. And O that there were more of such faithful labourers in the vineyard of the Lord! Never more need, since the day of God.

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Wherefore I cannot but cry and call aloud to you, that have been long professors of the truth, and know the truth in the convincing power of it, and have had a sober conversation among men, yet content yourselves only to know truth for yourselves, to go to meetings, and exercise an ordinary charity in the church, and an honest behaviour in the world, and limit yourselves within those bounds; feeling little or no concern upon your spirits for the glory of the Lord in the prosperity of his truth in the earth, more than to be glad that others succeed in such service: arise ye, in the name and power of the Lord Jesus! Behold how white the fields are unto harvest, in this and other nations, and how few able and faithful labourers there are to work therein! Your country folks, neighbours, and kindred, want to know the Lord and his truth, and to walk in it. Does nothing lie at your door upon their account? Search and see, and lose no time, I beseech you, for the Lord is at hand.

I do not judge you; there is One that judgeth all men, and his judgment is true. You have mightily increased in your outward substance: may you equally increase in your inward riches, and do good with both, while you have a day to do good. Your enemies would once have taken what you had from you, for his name's sake, in whom you have believed; wherefore he has given you much of the world, in the face of your enemies. But, O, let it be your servant, and not your master! Your diversion, rather than your business! Let the Lord be chiefly in your eye, and ponder your ways, and see if God has nothing more for you to do: and if you find yourself short in your account with him, then wait for his preparation, and be ready to receive the word of command, and be not weary of well-doing, when you have put your hand to the plough; and assuredly you shall reap, if you faint not, the fruit of your heavenly labour in God's everlasting kingdom.

And, you young-convinced ones, be you intreated and exhorted to a *diligent* and *chaste* waiting upon God,

in the way of his blessed manifestation and appearance of himself to you. Look not out, but within: let not another's liberty be your snare: neither act by *imitation*, but *sense* and *feeling* of God's power in yourselves: crush not the tender buddings of it in your souls, nor *over-run*, in your desires, and warmth of affections, the holy and gentle motions of it. Remember it is a *still voice*, that speaks to us in this day; and that it is not to be heard in the *noises* and *burries* of the mind; but it is distinctly understood in a *retired frame*. Jesus *loved* and *chose* solitudes; often going to mountains, gardens, and sea-sides, to avoid crowds and hurries, to shew his disciples it was good to be solitary, and sit loose to the world. Two enemies lie near your states, *imagination* and *liberty*; but the plain, practical, living, holy truth, that has convinced you, will preserve you; if you mind it in yourselves, and bring all thoughts, inclinations, and affections, to the test of it, to see if they are wrought in God, or of the enemy, or your ownelves: so will a true taste, discerning, and judgment, be preserved to you, of what you should do and leave undone. And in your diligence and faithfulness in this way you will come to inherit substance; and Christ, the eternal wisdom, will fill your treasury. And when you are *converted*, as well as convinced, then *confirm* your brethren; and be *ready* to every good *word* and *work*, that the Lord shall call you to; that you may be to his praise, who has chosen you to be partakers, with the saints in light, of a kingdom that cannot be shaken, an inheritance incorruptible in eternal habitations.

And now, as for you, that are the children of God's people, a great concern is upon my spirit, for your good: and often are my knees bowed to the God of your fathers, for you, that you may come to be partakers of the same divine life and power, that have been the glory of this day; that a generation you may be to God, "an holy nation, and a peculiar people, zealous of good works," when all our heads are laid in the dust. O you young men and women! Let
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it not suffice you, that you are the children of the people of the Lord; you must also be *born again*, if you will inherit the kingdom of God. Your fathers are but such after the flesh, and could but beget you into the likeness of the *first* Adam; but you must be begotten into the likeness of the *second* Adam, by a spiritual generation, or you will not, you cannot, be of his children or off-spring. And, therefore, look carefully about you, O ye children of the children of God! consider your standing, and see what you are, in relation to this divine kindred, family, and birth! Have you obeyed the light, and received and walked in the Spirit, which is the incorruptible seed of the word and kingdom of God, of which you must be born again. God is no respecter of *persons*. The father cannot save or answer for the child, or the child for the father; but in the sin thou sinnest thou shalt die; and in the righteousness thou dost, through Christ Jesus, thou shalt live; for it is the willing and obedient that shall eat the good of the land. "Be not deceived, God is not mocked; such as all nations and people sow, such they shall reap at the hand of the just God." And then your many and great privileges, above the children of other people, will add weight in the scale against you, if you chuse not the way of the Lord. For you have had "line upon line, precept upon precept," and not only good *doctrine*, but good *example*; and, which is more, you have been turned to, and acquainted with, a principle in yourselves, which others have been ignorant of: and you know you may be as good as you please, without the fear of frowns and blows, or being turned out of doors, and forsaken of *father* and *mother*, for God's sake, and his holy religion, as has been the case of some of *your fathers*, in the day they first entered into this holy path. And if you, after hearing and seeing the wonders that God has wrought in the deliverance and preservation of them, through a sea of troubles, and the manifold temporal, as well as spiritual blessings, that he has filled them with, in the sight of their ene-

mies, should neglect and turn their backs upon so *great* and *near* a salvation, you would not only be most ungrateful children to God and them, but must expect that God will call the children of those that knew him not, to take the crown out of your hands, and that your lot will be a dreadful judgment at the hand of the Lord: but O that it may never be so with any of you! the Lord forbid! faith my soul.

Wherefore, O ye young men and women, look to the Rock of your fathers: there is no other God but him, no other light but his, no other grace but his, nor Spirit but his, to convince you, quicken and comfort you; to lead, guide, and preserve you to God's everlasting kingdom: so will you be possessors, as well as professors, of the truth, embracing it not only by education, but judgment and conviction, from a sense begotten in your souls, through the operation of the eternal Spirit and power of God; by which you may come to be the seed of Abraham, through faith, and the "circumcision not made with hands;" and so heirs of the promise made to the fathers, of an "incorruptible crown." That, as I said before, a generation you may be to God, holding up the profession of the blessed truth in the life and power of it. For *formality* in religion is nauseous to God and good men; and the more so, where any form and appearance has been new and peculiar, and begun and practised, upon a principle, with an *uncommon* zeal and strictness. Therefore, I say, for *you* to fall flat and formal, and continue the profession, without that salt and savour, by which it is come to obtain a *good report* among *men*, is not to answer God's love, or your parents care, or the mind of truth in yourselves, or in those that are without: who, though they will not obey the truth, have sight and sense enough to see if *they* do that make a profession of it. For where the divine virtue of it is not felt in the soul, and waited for, and lived in, imperfections will quickly break out, and shew themselves, and detect the unfaithfulness of such persons; and that

that their insides are not seasoned with the nature of that holy principle which they profess.

Wherefore, dear children, let me intreat you to *shut* your *eyes* at the temptations and allurements of this low and perishing world, and not suffer your affections to be captivated by those lusts and vanities, that your fathers, for the truth's sake, long since turned their backs upon: but as you believe it to *be* the truth, receive it into your *hearts*, that you may become the children of God: so that it may never be said of you, as the evangelist writes of the Jews in his time, that "Christ," the true light, "came to his own, but his own received him not: but to as many as received him, to them he gave power to become the children of God; which were born, not of blood, nor of the will of the flesh, nor of the will of man, but of God." A most close and comprehensive passage to this occasion. You exactly, and peculiarly, answer to those professing Jews, in that you bear the name of God's people, by being the children, and wearing the form of God's people: and *be*, by his *light* in you, may be very well said to come to his *own*; and if you obey it not, but turn your back upon it, and walk after the vanities of your minds, you will be of those that *received* him not; which I pray God may never be your case and judgment. But that you may be thoroughly sensible of the many and great obligations you lie under to the Lord for his love, and to your parents for their care: and with all your *heart*, and all your *soul*, and all your *strength*, turn to the *Lord*, to his gift and Spirit in you, and hear his *voice*, and *obey* it, that you may *seal* to the testimony of your fathers, by the truth and evidence of your own *experience*; that your childrens children *may bless you*, and the Lord *for you*, as those that delivered a faithful *example*, as well as record, of the truth of God unto them. So will the grey hairs of your dear parents, yet alive, "go down to the grave with joy," to see you the posterity of *truth*, as well as *theirs*; and that
not

not only their nature, but spirit, shall live *in* you when they are gone.

I shall conclude this account with a few words to those that are not of our communion, into whose hands this may come; especially those of our own nation.

FRIENDS,

As you are the sons and daughters of Adam, and my brethren after the flesh, often and earnest have been my desires and prayers to God on your behalf, that you may come to know your Creator to be your *Redeemer* and *Restorer* to the holy image, that through sin you have lost, by the power and Spirit of his Son Jesus Christ, whom he hath given for the light and life of the world. And O that you, who are called Christians, would receive him into your *hearts!* for *there* it is you want him, and at *that* door he stands knocking, that you might let him in, but you do not open to him: you are full of other guests, so that a manger is his lot among you now, as well as of old. Yet you are full of profession, as were the Jews when he came among them, who knew him not, but rejected and evilly intreated him. So that if you come not to the possession and experience of what you *profess*, all your formality in religion will stand you in no stead in the day of God's judgment.

I beseech you ponder with yourselves your eternal condition, and see what *title*, what ground and foundation you have for your Christianity: if more than a profession, and an historical belief of the gospel? Have you known the *baptism of fire*, and the *Holy Ghost*, and the *fan* of Christ that winnows away the *chaff* in your minds, and *carnal lusts* and *affections*? That divine *leaven* of the kingdom, that, being received, leavens the *whole lump* of man, sanctifying him *throughout*, in body, soul, and spirit? If this be not the ground of your confidence, you are in a miserable estate.

You

You will say, perhaps, that though you are sinners, and live in daily commission of sin, and are not sanctified, as I have been speaking, yet you have faith in Christ, who has borne the curse for you, and in him you are complete by faith, his righteousness being imputed to you.

But, my friends, let me intreat you not to deceive yourselves, in so important a point, as is that of your immortal souls. If you have *true* faith in Christ, your faith will make you *clean*; it will sanctify you: for the saints *faith* was their *victory* of old: by this they overcame sin *within*, and sinful men *without*. And if thou art in Christ, thou walkest not after the *flesh*, but after the *spirit*, whose fruits are manifest. Yea, thou art a *new creature*: new-made, new-fashioned, after God's will and mould. Old things are done away, and behold, all things are become *new*: *new love, desires, will, affections, and practices*. It is not any longer *thou* that livest; thou *disobedient, carnal, worldly* one; but it is *Christ* that liveth *in* thee: and to live is Christ, and to die is thy eternal gain: because thou art assured, "That thy corruptible shall put on incorruption, and thy mortal, immortality; and that thou hast a glorious house, eternal in the heavens, that will never wax old, or pass away." All this follows being in Christ, as *heat* follows *fire*, and *light* the *sun*.

Therefore have a care how you presume to rely upon such a notion, as that you are in *Christ*, whilst in your old *fallen nature*. "For what communion hath light with darkness, or Christ with Belial?" Hear what the beloved disciple tells you: "If we say we have fellowship with God, and walk in darkness, we lie, and do not the truth." This is, if we go on in a sinful way, are captivated by our carnal affections, and are not converted to God, we walk in darkness, and cannot possibly, in *that* state, have any fellowship with God. Christ *clothes them* with his *righteousness*, that *receive* his grace in their hearts, and deny *themselves*,

selves, and take up *bis cross* daily, and follow him. Christ's righteousness makes men *inwardly* holy; of holy minds, wills, and practices. It is, nevertheless, *Christ's*, though we have it; for it is ours not by *nature*, but by *faith* and *adoption*: it is the gift of *God*. But still, though *not* ours, as of or from *ourselves*, (for in that sense it is *Christ's*, for it is of and from *him*); yet it *is* ours, and *must be* ours, in *possession*, *efficacy*, and *enjoyment*, to do us any *good*; or Christ's righteousness will profit us *nothing*. It was after *this* manner that he was made to the primitive Christians, "righteousness, sanctification, justification, and redemption:" and if ever you will have the *comfort*, *kernel*, and *marrow* of the *Christian religion*, thus you must come to learn and obtain it.

Now, my friends, by what you have read, and will read in what follows, you may perceive that God has visited a poor people among you with this saving knowledge and testimony; whom he has upheld and increased to this day, notwithstanding the fierce opposition they have met withal. Despise not the meanness of this appearance: it was, and yet is, (we know) a day of *small* things, and of small account with too many; and many hard and ill names are given to it; but it is of *God*, it came *from* him, because it leads *to* him.

This we know; but we cannot make another to know it, unless he will take the *same way* to know it that we took. The world *talks* of God, but what do they *do*? They pray for *power*, but reject the *principle* in which it *is*. If you would know God, and worship and serve God as you should do, you must come to the means he has ordained and given for that purpose. Some seek it in books, some in learned men; but what they look for, is *in* themselves, though not *of* themselves, but they *overlook* it. The voice is too *still*, the seed too *small*, and the light shineth in *darkness*: they are abroad, and so cannot divide the spoil; but the woman, that lost her *silver*, found it at *home*,
after

after she had *lighted* her *candle*, and *swept* her *house*. Do you so too, and you shall find what Pilate wanted to know, viz. *truth*: truth in the inward parts, so valuable in the sight of God.

The light of Christ within, who is the light of the *world*, (and so a light to *you*, that tells you the truth of your condition) leads all, that take heed unto it, *out of* darkness, into God's marvellous light. For light *grows* upon the obedient: "it is *sown* for the " *righteous*, and their *way* is a shining *light*, that shines " forth more and more to the perfect day."

Wherefore, O friends, turn *in*, turn *in*, I beseech you: *where* is the poison, *there* is the antidote. *There* you *want* Christ, and *there* you must *find* him; and, blessed be God, there you *may* find him. "Seek, " and you shall find," I testify for God. But then you must seek *aright*, with your *whole heart*, as men that seek for their lives, yea, for their *eternal* lives, diligently, humbly, patiently, as those that can taste no pleasure, comfort, or satisfaction in any thing else, unless you find Him whom your souls desire to know, and love, above *all*. O it is a travail, a *spiritual* travail, let the carnal, profane world, think and say as it will. And through *this* path you must walk to the city of God, that has eternal foundations, if ever you will come there.

Well! And what does this blessed light do for you? Why, 1. It sets all your sins in order before you: it detects the spirit of this world, in all its baits and allurements, and shews how man came to fall from God, and the fallen estate he is in. 2. It begets a *sense* and *sorrow*, in such as believe in it, for this fearful lapse. You will then see Him, distinctly, whom you have *pierced*, and all the blows and wounds you have given him by your disobedience, and how you have him to serve with your sins; and you will weep and mourn for it, and your sorrow will be a *godly* sorrow. 3. After this, it will bring you to the holy watch, to take care that you do so no more, and that the enemy surprise

prize you not again. Then *thoughts*, as well as words and works, will come to *judgment*, which is the way of holiness, in which the redeemed of the Lord do walk. Here you will come to "love God above all, " and your neighbours as yourselves." Nothing *hurts*, nothing *harms*, nothing makes *afraid*, on this holy mountain. Now you come to be *Christ's* indeed; for you are his in nature and spirit, and not your *own*. And when you are *thus* Christ's, then Christ is *yours*, and not before. And here communion with the Father, and with the Son, you will know, and the efficacy of the blood of cleansing, even the blood of Jesus Christ, that immaculate Lamb, which "speaks " better things than the blood of Abel;" and which cleanseth from *all sin* the consciences of those, that, through the *living* faith, come to be "sprinkled with " it, from dead works, to serve the living God."

To conclude: Behold the testimony and doctrine of the people called Quakers! Behold their practice and discipline! And behold the blessed man and men (at least many of them) that were sent of God in this excellent work and service! All which is more particularly expressed in the annals of that man of God: which I do heartily recommend to my reader's most serious perusal; and beseech Almighty God, that his blessing may go along with both, to the conviction of many, as yet strangers to this holy dispensation, and also to the edification of God's church in general. Who, for his manifold and repeated mercies and blessings to his people, in this day of his great love, is worthy ever to have the glory, honour, thanksgiving and renown: and be it rendered and ascribed, with fear and reverence, through Him in whom he is well pleased, his beloved Son and Lamb, our light and life, that sits with him upon the throne, world without end. Amen!

Says one that God has long since mercifully favoured with his fatherly visitation, and who was not
not

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not disobedient to the heavenly vision and call; to whom the way of truth is more lovely and precious than ever; and that, knowing the beauty and benefit of it, above all worldly treasures, has chosen it for his chiefest joy; and therefore recommends it to thy love and choice, because he is, with great sincerity and affection,

Thy soul's friend,

W. P E N N.

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PRIMITIVE
CHRISTIANITY
REVIVED,
IN THE
FAITH AND PRACTICE
OF THE
PEOPLE CALLED QUAKERS.

WRITTEN

In Testimony to the Present Dispensation
of God, through THEM, to the World;

THAT

PREJUDICES may be Removed, the SIMPLE In-
formed, the WELL-INCLINED Encouraged,
and the TRUTH and its innocent FRIENDS
Rightly Represented.

BY WILLIAM PENN.

Published in the Year 1696.

VOL. V.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

PHYSICS DEPARTMENT

PHYSICS 311

LECTURE 1

MECHANICS

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P R E F A C E.

READER,

BY this short ensuing treatise, thou wilt perceive the subject of it, viz. 'The light of Christ in man, as the manifestation of God's love for man's happiness.' Now, forasmuch as this is the peculiar testimony and characteristick of the people called Quakers; their great fundamental in religion; that by which they have been distinguished from other professors of Christianity in their time, and to which they refer all people about faith, worship, and practice, both in their ministry and writings; that as the fingers shoot out of the hand, and the branches from the body of the tree, so true religion, in all the parts and articles of it, springs from this divine principle in man. And because the prejudices of some are very great against this people and their way; and that others, who love their seriousness, and commend their good life, are yet, through mistakes, or want of enquiry, under jealousy of their unsoundness in some points of faith; and that there are not a few in all persuasions, which desire earnestly to know and enjoy God in that sensible manner this people speak of, and who seem to long after a state of holiness and acceptance with God; but are under doubts and despondings of their attaining it, from the want they find in themselves of inward power to enable them, and are unacquainted with this efficacious agent, which God hath given and appointed for their supply:

For these reasons and motives, know, reader, I have taken in hand to write this small tract, 'Of the nature and virtue of the light of Christ within man; what, and where it is, and for what end, and therein of the religion of the people called Quakers; that, at the same time, all people may be informed of their true character, and what true religion is; and the way

P R E F A C E.

to it, in this age of high pretences, and as deep irreligion. That so the merciful visitation of the God of light and love, (more especially to these nations,) both immediately and instrumentally, for the promotion of piety, (which is religion indeed) may no longer be neglected by the inhabitants thereof, but that they may come to see, and say with heart and mouth, ' This is a dispensation of love and life from God to the world; and this poor people, that we have so much despised, and so often trod upon, and treated as the off-scouring of the earth, are the people of God, and children of the Most High.'

Bear with me, reader; I know what I say, and am not high-minded, but fear: for I write with humility towards God, though with confidence towards thee. Not that thou shouldest believe upon my authority, nothing less; for that is not to act upon knowledge, but trust; but that thou shouldest try and approve what I write: for that is all I ask, as well as all I need for thy conviction, and my own justification. The whole, indeed, being but a spiritual experiment upon the soul, and therefore seeks for no implicit credit, because it is self-evident to them that will uprightly try it.

And when thou, reader, shalt come to be acquainted with this principle, and the plain and happy teachings of it, thou wilt, with us, admire thou shouldest live so long a stranger to that which was so *near* thee, and as much wonder that other folks should be so blind as not to see it, as formerly thou thoughtest us singular for obeying it. The day, I believe, is at hand, that will declare this with an uncontrollable authority, because it will be with an unquestionable evidence.

I have done, reader, with this preface, when I have told thee, First, That I have stated the principle, and opened, as God has enabled me, the nature and virtue of it in religion; wherein the common doctrines and articles of the Christian religion are delivered and improved; and about which, I have endeavoured to express myself in plain and proper terms, and not in figurative, allegorical, or doubtful phrases; that so I may

P R E F A C E.

may leave no room for an equivocal or double sense; but that the truth of the subject I treat upon may appear easily and evidently to every common understanding. Next, I have confirmed what I have writ, by scripture, reason, and the effects of it upon so great a people; whose uniform concurrence in the experience and practice thereof, through all times and sufferings, since a people, challenge the notice and regard of every serious reader. Thirdly, I have written briefly, that so it might be every one's money and reading: and, much in a little is best, when we see daily the richer people grow, the less money or time they have for God or religion: and perhaps those that would not buy a large book, may find in their hearts to give away some of these for their neighbour's good, being little and cheap. Be serious, reader, be impartial, and then be as inquisitive as thou canst; and that for thine own soul, as well as the credit of this most misunderstood and abused people: and the God and Father of *lights* and *spirits*, so bless *thine*, in the perusal of this short treatise, that thou mayest receive real benefit by it, to his glory, and thine own comfort: which is the desire and end of him that wrote it; who is, in the bonds of Christian charity, very much, and very ardently,

Thy real friend,

WILLIAM PENN.



PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY

REVISED.

CHAPTER I.

§. 1. *Their fundamental principle.* §. 2. *The nature of it.* §. 3. *Called by several names.* §. 4. *They refer all to this, as to faith and practice, ministry, and worship.*

§. 1. **T**HAT which the people called Quakers lay down, as a main fundamental in religion, is this, ‘That God, through Christ, hath placed a principle in every man to inform him of his duty, and to enable him to do it; and that those that live up to this principle, are the people of God; and those that live in disobedience to it, are not God’s people, whatever name they may bear, or profession they may make of religion.’ This is their ancient, first and standing testimony: with this they began, and this they bore, and do bear, to the world.

§. 2. By this principle they understand something that is divine; and though *in* man, yet not *of* man, but of God; and that it came *from* him, and leads *to* him all those that will be led by it.

§. 3. There are divers ways of speaking they have been led to use, by which they declare and express what this principle is, about which I think fit to precaution the reader, viz. they call it, ‘The *light of Christ* within man,’ or, ‘*light within*,’ which is their ancient, and most general and familiar phrase, also the ‘*manifestation*’ or ‘*appearance of Christ*,’ the ‘*witness of God*,

^a John i. 9. ^b Rom. i. 19. Tit. iii. 4. ^c Acts xvii. 28.
² Pet. iv. ^d Rom. viii. 6. ³ John v. 19, 21.

the ^c *seed of God*; the ^f *seed of the kingdom*; ^g *wisdom*; the ^h *word in the heart*; the *grace* ⁱ that appears to *all men*; the ^k *Spirit given to every man to profit with*; the ^l *truth in the inward parts*; the ^m *spiritual leaven*, that leavens the *whole lump of man*: which are many of them figurative expressions, but all of them such as the Holy Ghost hath used, and which will be used in this treatise, as they are most frequently in the writings and ministry of this people. But that this variety and manner of expression may not occasion any misapprehension or confusion in the understanding of the reader, I would have him know, that they always mean by these terms, or denominations, not *another*, but the *same* principle, before mentioned: which, as I said, though it be *in man*, is not *of man*, but of *God*, and therefore *divine*: and *one* in itself, though diversly expressed by the holy men, according to the various manifestations and operations thereof.

§. 4. It is to this principle of light, life, and grace, that this people refer all: for they say, it is the great agent in religion; that, without which, there is no *conviction*, so no *conversion*, or *regeneration*; and consequently no entering into the kingdom of God. That is to say, there can be no true *sight* of sin, nor *sorrow* for it, and therefore no forsaking or overcoming of it; or remission or justification from it. A necessary and powerful principle indeed, when neither sanctification nor justification can be had without it. In short, there is no becoming virtuous, holy, and good, without this principle; no acceptance with God, nor peace of soul, but through it. But, on the contrary, that the reason of so much *irreligion* among Christians, so much *superstition*, instead of devotion, and so much profession without enjoyment, and so little heart-reformation, is,

^c 1 Pet. i. 23. 1 John iii. 9. ^f Mat. xiii. 19, 23. ^g Prov. i. 20, 21, 22, 23. and viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. ^h Deut. xxx. 12. Rom. x. 6, 7, 8. Psal. cxix. 10. ⁱ Tit. ii. 11, 12. ^k 1 Cor. xii. 7. ^l Psal. li. 6. Isa. xxvi. 2. John xiv. 6. ^m Mat. xiii. 33.

because

because people, in religion, *overlook* this principle, and leave it behind them.

They will be religious *without* it, and Christians without it, though this be the only means of making them so indeed. So natural is it to man, in his degenerate state, to prefer sacrifice before obedience, and to make prayers go for practice, and so flatter himself to hope, by ceremonial and bodily service, to excuse himself with God from the stricter discipline of this principle in the soul, which leads man to take up the cross; deny himself, and do that which God requires of him: and that is every man's *true* religion, and every such man is truly *religious*: that is, he is *holy, humble, patient, meek, merciful, just, kind, and charitable*; which, they say, no man can make *himself*; but that this principle will make them *all* so, that will embrace the convictions and teachings of it, being the *root* of all true religion in man, and the good *seed* from whence all good fruits proceed. To sum up what they say upon the nature and virtue of it, as contents of that which follows, they declare that this principle is, First, divine. Secondly, universal. Thirdly, efficacious: in that it gives man,

First, The knowledge of *God*, and of *himself*; and therein, a sight of his duty, and disobedience to it.

Secondly, It begets a true *sense* and *sorrow* for sin in those that seriously regard the convictions of it.

Thirdly, It enables them to *forsake* sin, and *sanctifies* from it.

Fourthly, It applies God's mercies, in Christ, for the *forgiveness* of sins that are past, unto justification, upon such sincere repentance and obedience.

Fifthly, It gives, to the faithful, perseverance unto a perfect man, and the assurance of blessedness, world without end.

To the truth of all which, they call in a threefold evidence: First, The scriptures, which give an ample witness, especially those of the New and better Testament. Secondly, The reasonableness of it in itself. And lastly, a general experience, in great measure; but particularly *their own*, made credible by the good fruits they

they have brought forth, and the answer God has given to their ministry : which, to impartial observers, have commended the principle, and gives me occasion to abstract their history, in divers particulars, for a conclusion to this little treatise.

C H A P. II.

§. 1. The evidence of *Scripture* for this *Principle*, *John* i. 4. 9. §. 2. Its *divinity*. §. 3. All things *created* by it. §. 4. What it is to *man*, as to *salvation*.

§. 1. I Shall begin with the evidence of the blessed scriptures of truth, for this divine principle, and that under the name of *light*, the first and most common word used by them, to express and denominate this principle by, as well as most apt and proper in this dark state of the world.

John i. 1. "In the beginning was the word, and the word was with God, and the word was God."

Verf. 3. "All things were made by him."

Verf. 4. "In him was life, and that life was the light of men."

Verf. 9. "That was the true light, which lighteth every man that cometh into the world."

§. 2. I have begun with *him*, that began his history with HIM that was "the beginning of the creation of God," the most beloved disciple, and longest liver of all the apostles; and he, that for excellent knowledge and wisdom in heavenly things, is justly intitled 'John the Divine.' He tells us, first, What he was in the beginning, viz. *The Word*. "In the beginning was the word."

And though that shews what the word must be, yet he adds and explains, that the "word was with God, and the word was God;" lest any should doubt of the divinity of the word, or have lower thoughts of him than he deserved. The *word*, then, is *divine*; and an apt term it is, that the evangelist styles him by, since
it

it is so great an expression of the wisdom and power of God to men.

§. 3. "All things were made by him." If so, he wants no *power*. And if we were *made* by him, we must be *new-made* by him too, or we can never enjoy God. His power shews his dignity, and that nothing can be too hard for such a sufficiency as "made all things, and without which nothing was made, that was made." As man's "maker must be his husband," so his *creator* must be his *redeemer* also.

§. 4. "In him was life, and the life was the light of men." This is our point. The evangelist first begins with the *nature* and *being* of the word: from thence he descends to the *works* of the word: and lastly, then he tells us, *what* the word is, with respect to *man* above the rest of the creation, viz. "The word was *life*, and the life was the *light* of *men*." The relation must be very near and intimate, when the very *life* of the *word* (that was *with* God, and *was* God) is the *light* of *men*: as if men were *next* to the word, and *above* all the rest of his works; for it is not said so of any other creature.

Man cannot want light then; no not a *divine* light: for if *this* be not divine, that is the *life* of the divine word, there can be no such thing at all as *divine* or *supernatural* light and life. And the text does not only prove the *divinity* of the light, but the *universality* of it also; because *man*, mentioned in it, is *mankind*: which is yet more distinctly expressed in his 9th verse, "That was the *true* light, which lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world." Implying, that he that lighteth not *mankind*, is not that *true* light; and therefore *John* was not that *light*, but bore witness of him that *was*, who *lighteth every man*; to wit, the *word* that took flesh: so that both the divine nature, and universality, of the light of Christ within, are confirmed together.

C H A P. III.

§. 1. How this scripture is *wrested*. §. 2. That it is a *natural* light. §. 3. That it lighteth not *all*. §. 4. That it is only the *doctrine* and *life* of *Christ* when in the *flesh*. *All answered, and its divinity and universality proved.*

§. 1. **B**UT though there be no passage or proposition to be found in holy scripture, in which mankind is more interested, or that is more clearly laid down by the Holy Ghost, than this I have produced, yet hardly hath any place been more industriously wrested from its true and plain sense: especially since these people have laid any stress upon it, in defence of their testimony of the light within. Some will have it to be but a *natural* light, or a *part* of man's *nature*, though it be the very *life* of the *word* by which the world was made; and mentioned within those verses, which only concern his eternal *power* and *godhead*. But because I would be understood, and treat of things with all plainness, I will open the terms of the objection as well as I can, and then give my answer to it.

§. 2. If by *natural* be meant a *created* thing, as *man* is, or any thing that is requisite to the *composition* of man, I deny it: the text is expressly against it; and says, "The *light* with which man is lighted, is the *life* of the *word*, which was with God, and was God." But if by *natural* is only intended, that the light comes *along with us* into the world, or that we have it as sure as we are *born*, or have *nature*, and is the *light* of our nature, of our minds, and understandings, and is not the result of any revelation from *without*, as by angels or men; then we mean and intend the same thing. For it is *natural* to man to have a *super-natural* *light*, and for the creature to be lighted by an *uncreated* light, as is the *life* of the *creating word*. And did people but consider the *constitution* of man, it would conduce much

to preserve or deliver them from any dilemma upon this account. For *man* can be no more a light to his *mind*, than he is to his *body*: he has the capacity of *seeing* objects when he has the help of *light*, but cannot be a light to *himself*, by which to see them. Wherefore as the *sun* in the firmament is the light of the *body*, and gives us discerning in our temporal affairs; so the *life* of the *word* is the glorious *light* and *sun* of the *soul*; our *intellectual luminary*, that informs our mind, and gives us true judgment and distinction about those things that more immediately concern our better, inward, and eternal man.

§. 3. But others will have this text read thus; 'Not ' that the word enlightens *all mankind*, but that all who ' are enlightened, are enlightened by *him*;' thereby not only narrowing and abusing the text, but rendering God partial, and so severe to his creatures, as to leave the greatest part of the world in darkness, without the means or opportunity of salvation; though we are assured from the scriptures, "That *all* have light;" "that Christ is the light of the *world*;" "and that he "died for *all*;" "yea, the ungodly;" "and that God "desires not the death of any," but rather that all "should repent, and come to the knowledge of the "truth, and be saved; and that the grace of God has "appeared to *all men*," &c.

§. 4. There is a third sort that will needs have it understood, not of any illumination by a divine light or spirit in man, but by the *doctrine* Christ preached, and the *life* and *example* he lived, and led in the world; which yet neither reached the thousandth part of mankind, nor can consist with what the apostle John intends in the beginning of his history, which wholly relates to what Christ was before he took flesh, or, at least, what he is to the soul, by his immediate *inspirings* and *influences*. It is most true, Christ was, in a sense, the *light* of the world in that very *appearance*, and

° John i. 4, 9. ° Ch. viii. 12. ° Rom. v. 6. ° 2 Cor. v. 15. ° 1 Tim. ii. 4. ° Tit. ii. 11, 12.

shined forth by his heavenly *doctrine*, many admirable *miracles*, and his self-denying *life* and *death*: but still that hinders not, but that he was, and is, that *spiritual light*, which shineth, more or less, in the hearts of the sons and daughters of men. For as he was a *light* in his *life* and *conversation*, he was only a light in a more excellent sense than he spoke of to his disciples, when he said, "Ye are the lights of the world." But Christ, *the word*, enlightened *them*, and enlightens *us*, and enlightens *all* men that come into the world; which he could not be said to do, if we only regard his *personal* and *outward* appearance: for in that sense, it is long since he *was* that light, but in this he is *continually* so. In that respect he is *remote*, but in this sense he is *present* and *immediate*; else we should render the text, "That *was* the true light which *did* lighten," instead of "which *lighteth*, every man that cometh into the world." And that the evangelist might be so understood, as we speak, he refers us to this, as an evidence of his being the Messianic, and not *John*; for whom many people had much reverence, for verse 8. he saith of John, "He was *not* that light, but was sent to bear witness of that light;" (now comes his proof, and our testimony) "that was the *true* light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" which was not *John*, or any else, but "the *word* that was with God, and was God." The evangelist did not describe him by his fasting forty days, preaching so many sermons, working so many miracles, and living so holy a life; and, after all, so patiently suffering death, (which yet Christ did) thereby to prove him the light of the world; but, says the evangelist, "That was the *true* light," the word in flesh, the Messiah, and not *John*, or any else, "which lighteth every man that cometh into the world." So that Christ is manifested and distinguished by *giving* light: and, indeed, so are all his followers from other people, by *receiving* and *obeying* it. There are many other scriptures, of both Testaments, that refer to the light within, either expressly, or implicitly, which, for brevity's sake, I shall wave

wave reciting; but the reader will find some directions in the margin, which will guide him to them.*

C H A P. IV.

- §. 1. The *virtue* of the *light within*: it gives *discerning*.
 §. 2. It *manifests God*. §. 3. It gives *life* to the *soul*.
 §. 4. It is the *apostolical message*. §. 5. Objection answered about *two lights*. §. 6. About *natural* and *spiritual light*: not *two darkæesses* within, therefore not *two lights* within. §. 7. The apostle *John answers the objection fully*: the *light the same*; 1 John ii. 8, 9.

§. 1. **T**HE third thing, is the *virtue* and *efficacy* of this light for the end for which God hath given it, viz. "To lead and guide the soul of man to 'blessedness.' In order to which, the first thing it does in and for man, is to give him a true sight or discerning of himself; what he is, and what he does; that he may see and know his own condition, and what judgment to make of himself, with respect to religion and a future state: of which, let us hear what the *word himself* saith, that cannot err, as John relates it, chap. iii. 20, 21. "For every one that doth evil, hateth
 " the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds
 " should be reproveth. But he that doth truth, cometh
 " to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest;
 " that they are wrought in God." A most pregnant instance of the *virtue* and *authority* of the light. First, It is that which men ought to *examine* themselves by: Secondly, It gives a *true discerning* betwixt good and bad, what is of *God*, from what is *not* of *God*. And, lastly, It is a *judge*, and condemneth or acquitteth;

* Job xviii. 5, 6. and xxi. 17. and xxv. 3. and xxxviii. 5. Psal. xviii. 28. and xxxvii. 1. and xxxiy. 5. and xxxvi. 9. and cxviii. 27. and cxix. 105. Prov. xiii. 9. and xx. 20, 27. and xxii. 20. Isa. ii. 5. and viii. 20. and xlii. 6. and xlix. 6. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John ii. 8.

reproveth

reproveth or comforteth, the soul of man, as he rejects or obeys it. That must needs be *divine* and *efficacious*, which is able to discover to man what is of God, from what is *not* of God; and which gives him a *distinct knowledge*, in himself, of what is wrought in God, from what is *not* wrought in God. By which it appears, that this place does not only regard the discovery of *man* and his *works*, but, in some measure, it manifesteth *God*, and his *works* also, which is yet something higher; forasmuch as it gives the obedient man a discovery of what is wrought or performed by *God's* power, and after *his* will, from what is the *mere* workings of the creature *of himself*. If it could not *manifest* God, it could not tell man what was God's *mind*, nor give him such a grounded sense and discerning of the rise, nature, and tendency of the workings of his mind or inward man, as is both expressed and abundantly implied in this passage of our Saviour. And if it reveals God, to be sure it manifests Christ, that flows and comes from God. Who then would oppose or slight this blessed light?

§. 2. But that this light doth *manifest* God, is yet evident from Rom. i. 19. "Because that which may be *known* of (God) is *manifest* in men, for God hath *shewed*, it unto them." An universal proposition; and we have the apostle's word for it, who was "One of a thousand," and inspired *on purpose* to tell us the truth: let it then have its due weight with us. If that which may be known of God is manifest in men, the people called Quakers cannot, certainly, be out of the way in preaching up the *light within*, without which, nothing *can be* manifested to the mind of man; as saith the same apostle to the Ephesians, Eph. v. 13. "Whatsoever doth make *manifest* is *light*." Well then may they call this light within a *manifestation* or *appearance* of God, that sheweth *in* and *to* man, *all* that may be *known* of God. A passage much like unto this, is that of the prophet Micah, chap. vi. 8. "God hath *shewed* thee, O man, what is *good*; and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to
" love

“ love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God ?” God hath *shewed thee*, O man ! It is very emphatical. But how hath he *shewed him* ? Why, by his *light* in the *conscience*, which the wicked *rebel* against, Job xxiv. 13. “ Who, for *that* cause, know not the ways, nor abide in “ the paths thereof :” For “ its ways are ways of plea- “ santness, and all its paths are peace,” to them that obey it.

§. 3. But the *light* giveth the light of *life*, which is *eternal life*, to them that receive and obey it. Thus, says the blessed Saviour of the world, John viii. 12. “ I am the light of the world, he that followeth me “ shall not abide in darkness, but shall have the light “ of life.” Now he is the light of the *world*, because he lighteth every man that cometh *into* the world, and they that obey that *light* obey *him*, and therefore have the light of life. That is, the light becomes eternal *life* to the soul: that as it is the *life* of the *word*, which is the *light* in man, so it becomes the *life* in man, through his obedience to it, as his heavenly *light*.

§. 4. Farthermore, this light was the very ground of the *apostolical message*, as the beloved disciple assures us, 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. “ This then is the *message*, which we “ have heard of *him*, and declare unto *you*, That God “ is *light*, and in him is no darkness at all: if we say “ we have fellowship with *him*, and walk in darkness, “ we lie, and do not the truth: but if we *walk* in the “ light, as *he* is in the light, we have fellowship one “ with another, and the blood of Jesus Christ cleans- “ eth us from all sin.” Which is so comprehensive of the virtue and excellency of the light, in reference to man, that there is little need that more should be said upon it; forasmuch as, First, It reveals *God*, and that *God himself* is *light*. Secondly, It discovers darkness from light, and that there is no fellowship between them. Thirdly, That man ought to *walk* in the light. Fourthly, That it is the way to obtain forgiveness of sin, and sanctification from it. Fifthly, That it is the means to have peace and fellowship with God and his

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people; his true church, redeemed from the pollutions of the world.

§. 5. Some, perhaps, may object, as indeed it hath been more than once objected upon us, ‘ That this is ‘ *another* light, not that light wherewith *every man* is ‘ enlightened.’ But the same apostle, in his evangelical history, tells us, that “ in the word was life, and “ the *life* was the light of *men*,” and that that *very* light, that was the *life* of the word, was the *true light* which lighteth *every man* that cometh into the world, John i. 4, 9. Where is there so plain a text to be found *against* the sufficiency, as well as universality, of the light within; or a plainer for any article of faith in the whole book of God? Had the beloved disciple intended *two* lights, in his evangelical history, and his epistles, to be sure he would have noted to us his distinction: but we read of none, and by the properties ascribed in each writing, we have reason to conclude he meant the *same*.

§. 6. But if any shall yet object, ‘ That this is to be ‘ understood a *spiritual* light, and that ours is to be a ‘ *natural* one,’ I shall desire them to do two things: First, To prove that a *natural* light, as they phrase it, doth manifest *God*, other than as I have before explained and allowed: since whatever is *part* of man, in his *constitution*, but especially in his degeneracy from God, is so far from yielding him the *knowledge* of God, that it cannot *rightly* reprove or discover that which *offends* him, without the light we speak of: and it is granted, that what we call *divine*, and some, mistakenly, call *natural* light, can do *both*. Secondly, If this light be *natural*, notwithstanding it doth manifest our duty, and reprove our disobedience to God, they would do well to assign us some certain *medium*, or *way*, whereby we may truly discern and distinguish between the manifestations and reproofs of the *natural* light within, from those of the *divine* light within, since they allow the manifestation of *God*, and reproof of *evil*, as well to the *one*, as to the *other*. Let them give us but one
scripture

scripture that distinguishes between a *natural* and a *spiritual* light within. They may, with as much reason, talk of a *natural* and a *spiritual darknes* within. It is true, there is a *natural proper* darknes, to wit, The night of the outward world; and there is a *spiritual* darknes, viz. The *clouded* and *benighted* understandings of men, through disobedience to the light and spirit of God: but let them assign us a third, if they can. People use, indeed, to say, improperly, of blind men, they are *dark*; we may call a *natural* or *ideot* so, if we will: but where is there *another* darknes of the *understanding*, in the things of God? If they can, I say, find that, in and about the things of God, they do something.

Christ distinguished not between darknes and darknes, or light and light, in any such sense; nor did any of his disciples: yet both have frequently spoken of darknes and light. What difference, pray, doth the scripture put between *spiritual* darknes, and *darknes*, mentioned in these places, Luke i. ~~279~~. Mat. iv. 16. John i. 5. & iii. 19. & viii. 12, ~~279~~. 1 Thef. v. 4. ~~279~~ xli. 25!
 1 John i. 6. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. vi. 14, ~~279~~. Eph. v. 8. Col. i. 13. Upon the strictest comparison of them I find none. It is all one *spiritual* darknes. Neither is there so much as one scripture that affords us a distinction between *light within* and *light within*; or that there are really *two lights* from God, in *man*, that regard *religion*. Peruse Mat. iv. 16. Luke ii. 32. & xv. 8. John i. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9. & iii. 19, 20, 21. & viii. 12. Acts xxvi. 18. Rom. xiii. 12. 2 Cor. iv. 6. & vi. 14. Eph. v. 8, 13. Col. i. 12. 1 Theff. v. 5. 1 Tim. vi. 16. 1 Pet. ii. 9. 1 John i. 5, 7. & ii. 8. Rev. xxi. 23, 24. & xxii. 5. And we believe the greatest opposer to our assertion will not be able to sever light from light, or find out *two lights within*, in the passages here mentioned, or any other, to direct man in his duty to God and his neighbour: and if he cannot, pray let him forbear his mean thoughts and words of the *light of Christ* within *man*, as *man's guide* in duty to God and
 T 2 man.

man. For as he must yield to us, that the light manifesteth *evil*, and *reproveth* for it, so doth Christ himself teach us of the light, John iii. 20. "For every one that doth evil hateth the light, neither cometh unto the light, lest his deeds should be reprov'd." And the apostle Paul plainly saith, Eph. v. 13. "But all things that are reprov'd are made manifest by the light;" therefore there are not *two* distinct lights within, but *one* and the *same* manifesting, reprov'ing, and teaching *light within*. And this the apostle John, in his First Epistle, makes plain, beyond all exception, to all considerate people: First, In that he calls God, *Light*, chap. i. 5. Secondly, In that he puts no *medium*, or *third* thing, between that *light*, and *darkness*, verse 6. "If we say we have fellowship with him, and walk in darkness, we lie," &c. Intimating, that men must walk either in *light* or *darkness*, and not in a *third* or *other* state or region. I am sure, that which *manifests* and *reproves* darkness, cannot be *darkness*. This all men must confess.

§. 7. And, as if the apostle John would have anticipated their objection, viz. 'It is true, your light within reproveth for evil; but it is not therefore the divine light, which leads into higher things, and which comes by the gospel;' he thus expresseth himself, 1 John ii. 8, 9. "The darkness is past, and the true light now shineth. He that saith he is in the light, and hateth his brother, is in darkness even until now;" which is not *another* light than that mentioned before, chap. i. For as light is put *there* in opposition to darkness, so light *here* is put in opposition to darkness. And as the *darkness* is the *same*, so must the *light* be the *same*. Wherefore we may plainly see, that it is *not another light*, than that which reproveth a man for *hating his brother*, which brings a man *into fellowship with God*, and to *the blood of cleansing*, as the next verse speaks: therefore that *light* which reproveth a man for *hating his brother*, is of a *divine* and *efficacious nature*. In short, that light which is opposite to,
and

and reproveth, spiritual darkneſs, in a man and woman, is a *ſpiritual light*; but ſuch a light is that which we confeſs, teſtify to, and maintain: therefore it is a *ſpiritual light*. It is alſo worth our notice, that the apoſtle uſeth the ſame manner of expreſſion here, chap. ii. 8. “The *true light* ſhineth,” that he doth in his Evangelical Hiſtory, chap. i. 9. “That was the *true light*,” intimating the ſame divine word, or *true light now* “ſhineth;” and that it is the ſame *true light* in his account, that *reproveth* ſuch as *bate their brethren*: conſequently, that light, that ſo reproveth them, is the *true light*. And ſtrange it is, that Chriſt and his diſciples, but eſpecially his beloved one, ſhould ſo often make that very light, which *ſcoops* to the *loweſt* ſtep of immorality, and to the reproof of the *groſſeſt* evil, to be no other than the *ſame divine* life, in a farther degree of manifeſtation, which brings ſuch as follow it to the *light of life*, to the *blood of cleaſing*, and to have *fellowſhip with God, and one with another*: nay, not only ſo, but the apoſtle makes a man’s being a *child of God*, to depend upon his *anſwering* of this light in a palpable and common caſe, viz. “Not hating of his brother:” and that yet any ſhould ſhut their eyes ſo faſt againſt beholding the virtue of it, as to conclude it a *natural* and *inſufficient* light, is both *unſcriptural* and *unreaſonable*. Shall we ſlight it, becauſe we come ſo *eaſily* by it, and it is ſo familiar and domeſtick to us? Or make its being ſo *common*, an argument to undervalue ſo ineſtimable a mercy? What is more common than *light*, and *air*, and *water*? And ſhould we therefore contemn them, or prize them? *Prize* them, certainly, as what we cannot live, nor live *comfortably*, without. The more general the mercy is, the greater; and therefore the greater obligation upon man to live humbly and thankfully for it. And to thoſe alone that do ſo, are its divine ſecrets revealed.

C H A P. V.

§. 1. The *light* the *same* with the *spirit*. It is of *God*; proved by its properties. §. 2. The properties of the *spirit* compared with those of the *light*. §. 3. The *light* and *grace* *flow* from the *same* principle, proved by their *agreeing* properties. §. 4. An objection answered. §. 5. Difference in *manifestation*, or *operation*, especially in *gospel-times*, but not in *principle*, illustrated.

Obj. **B**UT some may say, ‘ We could willingly allow
 ‘ to the *spirit* and *grace* of *God*, which
 ‘ seemed to be the peculiar blessing of the new and
 ‘ second covenant, and the fruit of the coming of
 ‘ *Christ*, all that which you ascribe to the *light within*;
 ‘ but except it appeared to us that this *light* were the
 ‘ same in *nature* with the *spirit* and *grace* of *God*, we
 ‘ cannot easily bring ourselves to believe what you say
 ‘ in favour of the *light within*.’

Ans. This objection, at first look, seems to carry weight with it. But upon a just and serious review, it will appear to have more words than matter, shew than substance: yet because it gives occasion to solve scruples, that may be flung in the way of the simple, I shall attend it throughout. I say, then, if it appear that the *properties*, ascribed to the *light within*, are the same with those that are given to the *Holy Spirit* and *Grace* of *God*; and that those several terms, or epithets, are only to express the divers manifestations or operations of one and the same principle, then it will not, it cannot, be denied, but this *light within* is *divine* and *efficacious*, as we have asserted it. Now, that it is of the same *nature* with the *spirit* and *grace* of *God*, and tends to the same end, which is to bring people to *God*, let the *properties* of the *light* be compared with those of the *spirit* and *grace* of *God*. I say, they are the same, in that, first, the *light* proceeds from the *one word*, and *one life* of that *one word*, which

was

was *with* God and *was* God, John i. 4. & i. 9. Secondly, It is *universal*, it lighteth *every* man. Thirdly, *It giveth the knowledge of God, and fellowship with him.* Rom. i. 19. John iii. 21. 1 John i. 5, 6. Fourthly, *It manifesteth and reproveth evil,* John iii. 20. Eph. v. 13. Fifthly, *It is made the rule and guide of Christian walking,* Psalm xliii. 3. John viii. 12. Eph. v. 13, 15. Sixthly, It is the *path* for God's people to *go in,* Psalm cxix. 105. Prov. iv. 18. Isaiah ii, 5. 1 John i. 7. Rev. xxiv. 23. "And the nations of them that are saved, shall walk "in the *light* (of the Lamb.)" Lastly, It is the *armour* of the children of God against *satan,* Psalm xxvii. 1. "The Lord is my *light,* whom shall I fear?" Rom. xiii. 12. "Let us put on the armour of *light.*"

§. 2. Now let all this be compared with the *properties* of the *Holy Spirit,* and their agreement will be very manifest. First, It *proceedeth* from God, because it is the *spirit* of God, Rom. vi. 11. Secondly, It is *universal.* It *strove* with the old world, Gen. vi. 3. Then to be sure, with the new one: *every one* hath a *measure* of it given to *profit* *withal,* 1 Cor. xii. 7. Thirdly, It *revealeth God,* Job xxxii. 8. 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11. Fourthly, It *reproveth sin,* John xvi. 8. Fifthly, It is a *rule and guide* for the children of God to *walk by,* Rom. viii. 14. Sixthly, It is also the *path* they are to *walk in,* Rom. viii. 1. Gal. v. 15. "*Walk* in the "*spirit.*" Lastly, This is not all; it is likewise the *spiritual weapon* of a true Christian, Eph. vi. 17. "Take "the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God." After this, I hope none will deny that this *light* and this *spirit* must be of one and the same *nature,* that work one and the same *effect,* and tend evidently to one and the same *holy end.*

§. 3. And what is said of the *light* and *spirit,* may also very well be said of the *light* and *grace* of God; in that, First, The *grace* floweth from Christ, the word, that took flesh, as well as the *light;* for as in him was life, and that life the *light* of men, so he was "full of *grace* "and truth, and of his fulness have all we received, "and grace for grace," John i. 4, 9, 14, 16. Secondly,

It is *universal*; both from this text, and what the apostle to Titus teacheth; "For the *grace* of God, that "bringeth salvation, hath appeared to *all men*." Tit. ii. 11, 12. Thirdly, It *manifesteth evil*, for if it teaches to *deny* ungodliness and worldly lusts, it must needs *deteſt* them, and so says the text. Fourthly, It *revealeth godliness*, and consequently it must manifest *God*. Fifthly, It is an *instructor* and *guide*; for, says the apostle, "It teaches to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, "and to live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this "present world," and herein a *rule* of life, Tit. ii. 11, 12. Sixthly, It is, to all that *receive* it, all that they can *need* or *desire*, 2 Cor. xii. 9. "My *grace* is *sufficient* "for thee." An high testimony from *heaven*, to the power of this *teaching* and *saving grace*, under the strongest temptations.

§. 4. Obj. 'But there is little mention made of the *spirit*, and none of the *grace*, before Christ's coming; and therefore the *spirit*, as spoken of in the writings of the New Testament, and especially the *grace*, must be another, and a nobler thing than the light within.'

Ans. By no means another *thing*, but another *name*, from another *manifestation*, or *operation*, of the same *principle*. It is called *light* from the *distinction* and *discerning* it gives. "Let there be light, and there was "light," said God in the beginning of the old world; so there is first *light* in the beginning of the new creation of God in man. It is called *spirit*, because it giveth *life*, *sense*, *motion*, and *vigour*: and it is as often mentioned in the writings of the Old as New Testament; which every reader may see, if he will but please to look into his scripture-concordance. Thus, "God's Spirit strove with the old world." Gen. vi. 3. and with "Israel in the wilderness," Neh. ix. 30. And David asked, in the agony of his soul, "Whither "shall I go from thy Spirit?" Psalm cxxxix. 7. and the prophets often felt it. It is stiled *grace*, not from its being another principle, but because it was a *fuller* dispen-

dispensation of the virtue and power of the same divine principle: and that being purely God's favour and mercy, and not man's merit, is aptly, and deservedly, called the *grace, favour, or good-will* of God, to *undeserving* man. The wind does not always blow *fresh*, nor heaven send down its rain *freely*, nor the sun shine forth *clearly*; shall we therefore say, it is not of the same *kind* of wind, rain, or light, when it blows, rains, or shines but a *little*, as when it blows, rains, or shines *much*? It is certainly the *same* in nature and kind; and so is this *blessed principle*, under all its several dispensations, manifestations, and operations, for the benefit of man's soul, ever since the world began.

§. 5. But this is most freely, humbly, and thankfully acknowledged by us, That the dispensation of the *gospel*, was the clearest, fullest, and noblest of all other; both with regard to the coming of Christ in the flesh, and being our one holy offering to God for sin, through the Eternal Spirit; and the breaking-forth of his light, the effusion of his spirit, and appearance of his grace, in and to man, in a more excellent manner after his ascension. For though it was not *another* light, or spirit, than that which he had given to man in former ages, yet it was another and greater *measure*; and that is the privilege of the gospel above former dispensations. What before shined but *dimly*, shines since with *great glory*. Then it appeared but *darkly*, but now with *open face*.[†] Types, figures, and shadows *veiled* its appearances, and made them look *low* and *faint*; but in the *gospel-time*, the *veil* is *rent*, and the *hidden glory manifest*.[‡] It was under the law but as a *dew*, or small rain; but under the gospel, it may be said to be *poured out* upon men; according to that gracious and notable promise of God, by the prophet Joel, "In the latter days I will *pour out* of my Spirit upon all *flesh*."[¶] Thus we say, when it rains plentifully, look how it *pours*. So God augments his light, grace, and

† 2 Cor. iii. 12. ‡ John i. 5, 17. ¶ Joel ii. 28.

spirit to these latter days. They shall not have it sparingly, and by small drops, but *fully* and *freely*, and *overflowing* too. And thus Peter, that deep and excellent apostle, applies that promise in Joel, on the *day of Pentecost*, as the *beginning* of the accomplishment of it. This is grace, and favour, and goodness indeed. And therefore well may this brighter illumination, and greater effusion of the spirit, be called *grace*; for as the coming of the *Son* excelled that of the *servant*, so did the manifestation of the light and spirit of God, since the coming of Christ, excel that of the foregoing dispensations; yet ever sufficient to salvation, to all those that walked in it. This is *our sense* of the *light*, *spirit*, and *grace* of God: and by what is said, it is evident they are *one and the same principle*; and that he that has light, need not want the spirit or grace of God, if he will but receive it, in the love of it: for the very **PRINCIPLE**, that is **LIGHT** to *show* him, is also **SPIRIT** to *quicken* him, and **GRACE** to *teach*, *help*, and *comfort* him. It is sufficient in all circumstances of life, to them that diligently mind and obey it.

C H A P. VI.

- §. 1. An objection answered: *all* are not *good*, though *all* are *lighted*. §. 2. Another objection answered, That *gospel-truths* were known before *Christ's coming*. §. 3. Another: The *Gentiles* had the same *light*, though not with those *advantages*; proved from *scripture*.

§. 1. **B**UT some may yet say, 'If it be as you declare, Obj. ' how comes it, that all who are enlightened, ' are not so good as they should be; or, as you say, this ' would make them?'

Answ. Because people do not receive and obey it: all men have *reason*, but all men are not *reasonable*. Is it

it the fault of the *grain*, in the GRANARY, that it yields no *increase*, or of the *talent* in the NAPKIN, that it is not *improved*? It is plain a *talent* was given; and as plain that it was *improveable*; both because the like talents were actually improved by others, and, ‘that the just judge expected his talent with *advantage*;^s which else, to be sure, he would never have done. Now when our objectors will tell us, whose fault it was the talent was not *improved*, we shall be ready to tell them, ‘why the unprofitable servant was not so good ‘as he *should* have been.’ The blind must not blame the *sun*, nor sinners tax the grace of *insufficiency*. It is *sin* that darkens the *eye*, and hardens the *heart*, and that *binds* good things from the sons of men. “If we do his *will*, we shall know of his divine doctrine,” so Christ tells us. Men not living to what they know, cannot blame God, that they know no more. The unfruitfulness is in *us*, not in the *talent*. It were well, indeed, that this were laid to heart. But, alas! men are too apt to follow their sensual appetites, rather than their reasonable mind, which renders them brutal, instead of rational. For the *reasonable part* in man, is his *spiritual part*; and *that* guided by the divine *λογος* or *word*, which Tertullian interprets REASON in the most excellent sense, makes man truly reasonable; and then it is that man comes to offer up himself to God a *reasonable sacrifice*. Then a man indeed; a complete man; such a man as GOD made, when he made man in his own image, and gave him paradise for his habitation.

§. 2. Obj. But some yet object, ‘If mankind had *always* this principle, how comes it that gospel-truths were not so fully known before the coming of Christ, to those that were obedient to it?’

Ans. Because a *child* is not a *grown man*, nor the *beginning* the *end*; and yet he that is the *beginning*, is also the *end*: the PRINCIPLE is the same, though not the *manifestation*. As the world has many steps and periods of time towards its end, so hath man to his perfection.

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They that are faithful to what they know of the dispensation of their *own* day, shall hear the happy welcome, of "Well done, good and faithful servant." And yet many of God's people in those days, had a prospect of the glory of the latter times, the improvement of religion, the happiness of the church of God.

This we see in the prophecy of *Jacob* and *Moses*, concerning the "restoration of Israel by Christ." So *David*, in many of his excellent Psalms, expressing most sensible and extraordinary enjoyments, as well as prophecies; particularly his ii. xv. xviii. xxii. xxiii. xxv. xxvii. xxxii. xxxvi. xxxvii. xlii. xliii. xlv. li. lxxxiv. &c. The prophets are full of it, and for that reason have their name; particularly *Isaiab*, chap. ii. ix. xi. xxv. xxviii. xxxii. xxxv. xlii. xlix. l. li. lii. liii. liv. lix. lx. lxi. lxiii. lxx. lxxvi. *Jeremiab* also, chap. xxiii. xxx. xxxi. xxxiii. *Ezekiel*, chap. xx. xxxiv. xxxvi. xxxvii. *Daniel*, chap. viii. ix. x. xi. xii. *Hosea*, chap. i. iii. *Joel*, chap. ii. iii. *Amos*, chap. ix. *Micah*, chap. iv. v. *Zachariab*, chap. vi. viii. ix. xi. xiii. xiv. *Malacbi*, chap. iii. iv. This was not another principle, though another manifestation of the same principle; nor was it common, but particular and extraordinary in the reason of it.

It was the same Spirit that came upon *Moses*, which came upon *John the Baptist*; and it was also the same Spirit that came upon *Gideon* and *Sampson*, that fell upon *Peter* and *Paul*; but it was not the same dispensation of that Spirit. It hath been the way of God, to visit and appear to men according to their *states* and *conditions*, and as they have been prepared to receive him, be it more outwardly or inwardly, sensibly or spiritually. There is no capacity too low, or too high, for this divine principle: for as it made and knows all, so it reaches unto all people. It extends to the meanest, and the highest cannot subsist without it. Which made *David* break forth in his expostulations with God,

* Gen. xlix. 10. Deut. xviii. 15, 18.

“ Whither shall I go from thy Spirit, or whither shall I flee from thy presence?” Psalm cxxxix. 7, 8, 9, 10. Implying it was every where; though not every where, nor at every time, *alike*. “ If I go to heaven, to hell, or beyond the seas, even there shall thy hand lead me, and thy right hand shall hold me.” That is, ‘ There will this divine word, this light of men, this Spirit of God, find me, lead me, help me, and comfort me. For it is with me where-ever I am, and where-ever I go, in one respect or other;’ Prov. vi. 22. “ When thou goest, it shall lead thee; when thou sleepest, it shall keep thee; and when thou awakest, it shall talk with thee:” and I can no more get rid of it, if I would, than of *myself*, or my own *nature*; so present is it with me, and so close it sticks unto me. Isa. xliii. 2. “ When thou passest through the waters, I will be with thee; and through the rivers, they shall not overflow thee; when thou walkest through the fire, thou shalt not be burnt, neither shall the flame kindle upon thee.” David knew it; and therefore had a great value for it. “ In thy light shall we see light,” or, we shall be *enlightened* by *thy* light.” “ Thou wilt light my candle; the Lord my God will lighten my darkness.” Again, “ The Lord is my light, whom shall I fear ?” It was his armour against all danger. It took fear away from him, and he was undaunted, because he was safe in the way of it. Of the same blessed word he says elsewhere, “ It is a lamp unto my feet, and a lanthorn to my paths.” In short, a light to him in his way of blessedness.

§. 3. Obj. ‘ But if the *Jews* had this light, it does not follow that the *Gentiles* had it also; but by your doctrine *all* have it.’

Ans. Yes, and it is the glory of this doctrine which we profess, that God’s love is therein held forth to *all*. And besides the texts cited in general, and that are as full and positive as can be expressed, the apostle is very particular in the second chapter of his epistle to the
Romans,

Romans, "That the Gentiles having not the law, did " by nature the things contained in the law, and were " a law unto themselves." That is, they had not an outward law, circumstanced as the *Jews* had; but they had " the *work* of the law written in their *hearts*," and therefore might well be a law *to* themselves, that had the law *in* themselves. And so had the *Jews* too, but then they had greater outward helps to quicken their obedience to it; such as God afforded not unto any other nation: and therefore the obedience of the *Gentiles*, or uncircumcision, is said to be by nature, or naturally, because it was without those additional, external, and extraordinary ministries and helps which the *Jews* had to provoke them to duty. Which is so far from *lessening* the obedient *Gentiles*, that it *exalts* them in the apostle's judgment; because though they had less advantages than the *Jews*, yet the "work of " the law written in their hearts," was made so much the more evident by the good life they lived in the world. He adds, "their consciences bearing witness " (or as it may be rendered, *witnessing with them*) and " their thoughts, mean while, accusing, or else ex- " cusing one another, in the day when God shall judge " the secrets of all hearts by Jesus Christ, according " to my gospel." Which presents us with four things to our point, and worth our serious reflection. First, That the *Gentiles* had the law written in their *hearts*. Secondly, That their conscience was an allowed witness or evidence about duty. Thirdly, That the judgment made thereby shall be confirmed by the apostle's gospel at the great day, and therefore valid and irreversible. Fourthly, That this could not be, if the *light* of this conscience were not a *divine* and *sufficient* light: for *conscience*, truly speaking, is no other than " the *sense* a man hath, or *judgment* he maketh, of his " *duty* to God, according to the *understanding* God gives " him of *his will*." And that no ill, but a true and

† Rom. ii. 7 to 17.

scriptural use, may be made of this word *conscience*, I limit it to duty, and that to a virtuous and holy life, as the apostle evidently doth, about which we cannot miss, or dispute: read verses 7, 8, 9. It was to *that*, therefore, the apostles of our Lord Jesus Christ desired to be made *manifest*, for they dared to stand the judgment of *conscience*, in reference to the doctrine they preached and pressed upon men. The beloved disciple also makes it a *judge* of man's present and future state, under the term *heart*: "For if our heart condemn us, God is greater than our heart, and knoweth all things. Beloved, if our heart condemn us not, then have we confidence towards God."² Plain and strong words: and what were they about, but whether we love God, in deed and in truth: and how must that appear? Why, in "keeping his commandments," which is living *up* to what we *know*. And if any desire to satisfy themselves farther of the divinity of the *Gentiles*, let them read Plato, Seneca, Plutarch, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus, and the Gentile writers. They will also find many of their sayings, collected in the first part of a book, called, *The Christian Quaker*, and compared with the testimonies of scripture, not for their authority, but agreeableness. In them they may discern many excellent truths, and taste great love and devotion to virtue: a fruit that grows upon no tree, but that of *life*; in no age or nation. Some of the most eminent writers of the first ages, such as Justin Martyr, Origen, Clemens Alexandrinus, &c. bore them great respect, and thought it no lessening to the reputation of Christianity, that it was defended in many *Gentile* authors, as well as that they used and urged them to engage their followers to the faith, as Paul did the Athenians with their own *poets*.

² 1 John iii. 21, 22.

C H A P. VII.

§. 1. An objection answered about the *various dispensations* of God: The *principle* the same. §. 2. God's work of *a piece*, and *truth* the same under *divers shapes*. §. 3. The reason of the prevalence of *idolatry*. §. 4. The *Quakers* testimony the best antidote against it, *viz. Walking by a divine principle in man*. §. 5. It was God's *end*, in all his manifestations, that man might be *God's image and delight*.

§. 1. **B**UT it may be said, 'If it were *one principle*, why so many *modes* and *shapes* of religion, since the world began? For the *Patriarchal*, *Mosaical*, and *Christian*, have their great differences; to say nothing of what has befallen the *Christian*, since the publication of it to the world.'

Answ. I know not how properly they may be called *divers* religions, that assert the *true God* for the object of worship; the Lord *Jesus Christ*, for the *only Saviour*; and the *light*, or *spirit* of Christ, for the *great agent*, and *means* of man's conversion, and eternal felicity; any more than infancy, youth, and manhood, make *three men*, instead of *three growths*, or *periods of time*, of *one* and the *same man*. But passing that, the many modes or ways of God's appearing to men, arise, as hath been said, from the *divers states* of men; in all which, it seems to have been his main design to prevent idolatry and vice, by directing their minds to the *true object* of worship, and pressing virtue and holiness. So that though he immediately spoke to the patriarchs mostly by *angels*, in the fashion of men, and by them to their families, over and above the illumination in themselves; so to the prophets, for the most part, by the revelation of the *Holy Ghost* in them, and by them to the *Jews*; and since the gospel dispensation, by his *Son*, both externally, by his coming in the *flesh*, and internally, by his *spiritual* appearance in the *soul*, as he is
the

the *great light* of the world; yet all its flowings mediately through others, have still been from the *same principle*, co-operating with the manifestation of it *immediately* in man's own particular.

§. 2. This is of great weight, for our information and encouragement, that God's work, in reference to man, is *all of a piece*, and, in itself, lies in a narrow compass, and that his eye has ever been upon the same thing in all his dispensations, viz. *To make men truly good*, by planting his holy awe and fear in their hearts: though he has condescended, for the hardness and darkness of mens hearts, to approach, and spell out his holy mind, to them, by low and carnal ways, as they may appear to our more enlightened understandings: suffering *truth* to put on divers sorts of garments, the better to reach to the low state of men, to engage them from *false gods*, and *ill lives*; seeing them sunk so much below their nobler part, and what he made them, that, like brute beasts, they knew not their own strength and excellency.

§. 3. And if we do but well consider the reason of the prevalency of *idolatry*, upon the earlier and darker times of the world, of which the scripture is very particular, we shall find that it ariseth from this, that it is more sensual, and therefore calculated to please the *senses* of men; being more *outward* or *visible*, or more in their own power to perform, than one more *spiritual* in its object.* For as their gods were the workmanship of mens hands, they could not *prefer* them, that being the argument which did most of all gall their worshippers, and what of all things, for that reason, they were most willing to forget. But their incidency to *idolatry*, and the advantages it had upon the true religion with them, plainly came from this, 'That it was more *outward* and *sensual*:' they could *see* the object of their devotion, and had it in their power to address it when they would. It was more *fashionable*

* Gen. xxi. xxiv. Exod. xi. Levit. xxi. Deut. xxxii. xxxi. xxxii. xxxiii. Josh. xxii. xxxiii. xxiv.

too, as well as better accommodated to their dark, and too brutal, state. And therefore it was, that God, by many afflictions, and greater deliverances, brought forth a people, to *endear* himself to them, that they might *remember* the *hand* that *saved* them, and worship *him*, and him *only*, in order to root up *idolatry*, and plant the *knowledge* and *fear* of *him* in their *minds*, for an example to other nations. Whoever reads Deuteronomy, which is a summary of the other four books of Moses, will find the frequent and earnest care and concern of that good man for Israel, about this very point; and how often that people slipt and lapsed, notwithstanding God's love, care, and patience over them, into the idolatrous customs of the nations about them. Divers other scriptures inform us also, especially those of the prophets, Isaiah xlv. and xlv. Psal. xxxvii. and cxv. and Jer. x. where the Holy Ghost confutes and rebukes the people, and mocks their *idols* with a sort of holy disdain.

§. 4. Now that which is *farthest* from idolatry, and the best *antidote* against it, is the *principle* we have laid down; and the more people's minds are turned and brought to it, and that they resolve their faith, worship, and obedience into the holy illuminations and power of it, the *nearer* they grow to the *end* of their creation, and consequently to their *Creator*. They are more spiritually qualified, and become better fitted, to worship God as he *is*: who, as we are told by our Lord Jesus Christ, is a *spirit*, and will be worshipped in spirit and in truth, and that they are such sort of worshippers which God seeketh to worship him, in this gospel day. "The hour cometh," saith he, "and now is." That is, 'Some *now* do so, but more *shall*.'" A plain assertion in present, and a promise and prophecy of the increase of *such* worshippers in future. Which shews a change intended from a *ceremonial* worship, and state of the church of God, to a *spiritual* one. Thus the text; "But the time cometh, and now is, when true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and in truth." Which is as much as to say, 'When the
 worship

‘ worship of God shall be more *inward* than outward,’ and so more *suitable* to the nature of God, and the nobler part of man, his *inside*, or his *inward* and *better* man: for so those blessed words import, “ in Spirit “ and in truth.” In *spirit*, that is, ‘ through the ‘ *power* of the spirit.’ In *truth*, that is, ‘ in realities;’ not in shadows, ceremonies, or formalities, but in sincerity, with and in life, being divinely prepared and animated; which brings man not only to offer up *right* worship, but also into *intimate communion* and *fellowship* with God, who is a *Spirit*.

§. 5. And if it be duly weighed, it will appear, that God, in all his manifestations of himself, hath still come *nearer* and *nearer* to the *insides* of men, that he might reach to their *understandings*, and open their *hearts*, and give them a plainer and nearer acquaintance with himself in Spirit: and then it is that man must seek and find the knowledge of God for his eternal happiness. Indeed, all things that are *made*, shew forth the power and wisdom of God, and his goodness too, to mankind; and therefore many men urge the *creation* to silence *atheistical* objections: but though all those things shew a God, yet *man* does it, above all the rest. He is the *precious stone* of the *ring*, and the most *glorious jewel* of the *globe*; to whose reasonable use, service, and satisfaction, the whole seems to be made and dedicated. “ But God’s delight” (by whom man was made, we are told by the Holy Ghost) “ is in the *habitable parts* “ of the earth, with the *sons of men,*” Prov. viii. 31. And with those that are “ contrite in spirit,” Isaiah lxi. 1. And why is man his delight, but because man *only*, of all his works, was of his *likeness*. This is the *intimate relation* of man to God; somewhat *nearer* than ordinary: for of all other beings, man *only* had the honour of being his *image*; and, by his *resemblance* to God, as I may say, came his *kindred* with God, and *knowledge* of him. So that the nearest and best way for man to *know* God, and be acquainted with him, is to seek him in *himself*, in his *image*; and, as he finds *that*, he comes to find and know God.

Now MAN may be said to be God's *image* in a *double* respect. First, As he is of an *immortal* nature; and next, as that nature is *endued* with those excellencies in *small*, and proportionable to a creature's *capacity*, that are by nature *infinitely* and *incomparably* in his CREATOR. For instance, *wisdom, justice, mercy, holiness, patience,* and the like. As man becomes holy, just, merciful, patient, &c. by the *copy* he will know the *original*, and by the *workmanship* in himself, he will be acquainted with the holy *Workman*. This, reader, is the *regeneration* and *new creature* we press, Gal. vi. 15, 16; and according to *this* rule, we say, men ought to be *religious*, and *walk in this world*. Man, as I said just now, is a composition of *both* worlds; his *body* is of *this*, his *soul* of the *other* world. The *body* is as the TEMPLE of the *soul*; the *soul* the *temple* of the *word*; and the *word* the great TEMPLE and *manifestation* of GOD. By the *body* the *soul* looks into and beholds *this* world; and by the *word* it beholds GOD, and the world that is without *end*. Much might be said of this order of things, and their respective excellencies, but I must be brief.

C H A P. VIII.

- §. 1. The doctrine of *satisfaction* and *justification* owned and worded according to *scripture*. §. 2. What constructions we *cannot* believe of them, and which is an *abuse* of them. §. 3. Christ owned a *sacrifice* and a *mediator*. §. 4. *Justification two-fold*, from the *guilt* of sin, and from the *power* and *pollution* of it. §. 5. Exhortation to the reader upon the whole.

Obj. 1. ' **T**HOUGH there be many good things
' said, how Christ *appears* and *works* in
' a soul, to awaken, convince and convert it; yet you
' seem not particular enough about the *death* and *suffer-*
' *ings* of Christ: and it is generally rumoured and
' charged upon you by your adversaries, that you have
' little reverence to the doctrine of Christ's *satisfac-*
' *tion*

' tion to God for our sins, and that you do not believe,
' That the active and passive obedience of Christ, when
' he was in the world, is the alone ground of a sinner's
' justification before God.'

Answ. The doctrines of *satisfaction* and *justification*, truly understood, are placed in so strict an union, that the one is a necessary consequence of the other; and what we say of them, is what agrees with the suffrage of scripture, and, for the most part, in the terms of it; always believing, that in points where there arises any difficulty, be it from the obscurity of expression, mis-translation, or the dust raised by the heats of *partial* writers, or *nice criticks*, it is ever best to keep close to the text, and maintain charity in the rest. I shall first speak *negatively*, what we do *not* own; which, perhaps, hath given occasion to those who have been more hasty than wise, to judge us defective in our belief of the efficacy of the death and sufferings of Christ to justification: as,

§. 2, First, We cannot believe that Christ is the *cause*, but the *effect*, of God's *love*, according to the testimony of the beloved disciple, John, chap. iii. "God so loved
" the world, that he gave his only begotten Son into
" the world, that whosoever believeth in him should
" not perish, but have everlasting life."

Secondly, We cannot say, God *could not* have taken *another* way to have saved sinners, than by the death and sufferings of his Son, to satisfy his justice; or that Christ's death and sufferings were a *strict* and *rigid* satisfaction for that eternal death and misery due to man for sin and transgression: for such a notion were to make God's *mercy* little concerned in man's salvation; and, indeed, we are at too great a *distance* from his infinite wisdom and power, to judge of the *liberty* or *necessity* of his actings.

Thirdly, We cannot say Jesus Christ was the *greatest* *sinner* in the world (because he bore our sins on his cross, or because he was made sin for us, who knew no sin); an expression of great *levity* and *unsoundness*, yet

often said by great preachers and professors of religion.

Fourthly, We cannot believe that Christ's death and sufferings *so* satisfy God, or justify men, as that they are *thereby* accepted of God; they are, indeed, thereby put into a *state capable* of being accepted of God, and, through the obedience of faith, and sanctification of the spirit, *are* in a state of acceptance: for we can never think a man *justified* before God, while *self-condemned*; or that any man can be *in Christ* who is not a *new creature*; or that God looks upon men *otherwise* than they *are*. We think it a state of *presumption*, and not of *salvation*, to call Jesus *Lord*, and not by the work of the *Holy Ghost: Master*, and he not yet master of their *affections: Saviour*, and they not saved by him from their *sins: Redeemer*, and yet they not redeemed by him from their *passion, pride, covetousness, wantonness, vanity, vain honours, friendships, and glory* of this world: which were to deceive themselves; for "God will not be mocked, such as men sow, such they must reap." And though Christ did *die* for us, yet we must, by the assistance of his *grace*, "work out our own salvation with fear and trembling:" as *he died for sin*, so *we must die to sin*, or we cannot be said to be *saved* by the death and sufferings of Christ, or thoroughly *justified* and accepted with God. Thus far negatively. Now, positively, what we own as to justification.

§. 3. We do believe that Jesus Christ was our holy *sacrifice, atonement, and propitiation*; that he bore our iniquities, and by his stripes we were healed of the wounds *Adam* gave us in his fall; and that God is just in forgiving true penitents upon the credit of that holy offering Christ made of himself to God for us; and that what he did and suffered, satisfied and pleased God, and was for the sake of fallen man, that had displeased God: and that through the offering up of himself once for all, through the Eternal Spirit, he hath for ever perfected those (in all *times*) that were sanctified, "who walked not after the flesh, but after the Spirit," Rom. viii. 1. Mark that.

§. 4. In

§. 4. In short, justification consists of *two* parts, or hath a *twofold* consideration, viz. justification from the *guilt* of sin, and justification from the *power* and *pollution* of sin, and in this sense justification gives a man a full and clear acceptance before God, for want of this *latter* part it is, that so many souls, religiously inclined, are often under doubts, scruples, and despondencies, notwithstanding all that their teachers tell them of the extent and efficacy of the *first* part of justification. And it is too general an unhappiness among the professors of Christianity, that they are too apt to *cloak* their own active and passive *disobedience* with the active and passive *obedience* of *Christ*. The first part of justification, we do reverently and humbly acknowledge, is only for the sake of the *death* and *sufferings* of *Christ*: nothing *we* can do, *though by the operation of the Holy Spirit*, being able to cancel *old debts*, or wipe out *old scores*: it is the power and efficacy of that propitiatory offering, upon *faith* and *repentance*, that justifies us from the sins that are *past*; and it is the power of *Christ's Spirit* in our hearts, that purifies and makes us acceptable before God. For till the heart of man is purged from *sin*, God will never *accept* of it. He reproveth, rebuketh, and condemns those that entertain sin there, and therefore such cannot be said to be in a *justified* state; condemnation and justification being contraries: so that they that hold themselves in a justified state by the active and passive obedience of *Christ*, while they are not actively and passively obedient to the *Spirit* of *Christ Jesus*, are under a *strong* and *dangerous* delusion; and for crying out against this sin-pleasing imagination, not to say *doctrine*, we are stoned and reproached as deniers and despisers of the death and sufferings of our Lord *Jesus Christ*. But be it known to such, they *add* to *Christ's sufferings*, and crucify to themselves *afresh* the *Son of God*, and trample the blood of the covenant under their feet, that walk *unholily* under a profession of *justification*; “for God will not acquit the guilty, nor justify the disobedient and unfaithful.” Such deceive themselves, and at the great and final

judgment their sentence will not be, "Come ye *blessed*," because it cannot be said to them, "*Well done*, good "and faithful;" for they cannot be so esteemed that live and die in a *reprovable* and *condemnable* state; but, "Go ye *curfed*," &c.

§. 5. Wherefore, O my reader! Rest not thyself wholly satisfied with what Christ has done for thee in his blessed person *without* thee, but press to know his power and kingdom *within* thee, that the *strong man*, that has too long kept thy house, may be *bound*, and his goods *spoiled*, his works *destroyed*, and sin *ended*, according to 1 John iii. 7. "For which end," says that beloved disciple, "Christ was manifested," that all things may become *new*: "new heavens and new earth, "in which righteousness dwells." Thus thou wilt come to glorify God in thy body and in thy Spirit, which are *his*; and live to *him*, and not to *thyself*. Thy love, joy, worship, and obedience; thy life, conversation, and practice; thy study, meditation, and *devotion*, will be *spiritual*: for the Father and the Son will make their *abode* with thee, and Christ will *manifest* himself to thee; for the "*secrets* of the Lord are with them that fear "*him*:" and an holy *unction*, or *anointing*, have all those, which leads them into *all truth*, and they need not the teachings of men. They are *better* taught, being instructed by the *Divine Oracle*: no bare *hear-say* or *traditional* Christians, but fresh and *living* witnesses: those that have seen with their *own eyes*, and heard with their *own ears*, and have handled with their *own hands*, the word of life, in the divers operations of it, to their souls salvation. In this they meet, in this they preach, and in this they pray and praise: behold the new covenant fulfilled, the church and worship of *Christ*, the great *anointed* of God, and the great *anointing* of God, in his holy high priesthood, and offices in his church!

C H A P. IX.

§. 1. *A confession to Christ and his work, both in doing and suffering.* §. 2. *That ought not to make void our belief and testimony of his inward and spiritual appearance in the soul.* §. 3. *What our testimony is in the latter respect: that it is impossible to be saved by Christ without us, while we reject his work and power within us.* §. 4. *The dispensation of grace, in its nature and extent.* §. 5. *A farther acknowledgement to the death and sufferings of Christ.* §. 6. *The conclusion, shewing our adversaries unreasonableness.*

§. 1. **A**ND lest any should say we are *equivocal* in our expressions, and *allegorize away* Christ's appearance in the flesh; meaning only thereby *our own* flesh; and that as often as we mention him, we mean only a *mystery*, or a *mystical sense* of him, be it as to his *coming, birth, miracles, sufferings, death, resurrection, ascension, mediation, and judgment*; I would yet add, to preserve the well-disposed from being staggered by such suggestions, and to inform and reclaim such as are under the power and prejudice of them, 'That we do, we
' bless God, religiously believe and confess, to the glory
' of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and
' beloved Son, that *Jesus Christ took our nature upon*
' *him, and was like unto us in all things, sin excepted:*
' *that he was born of the virgin Mary, suffered under*
' *Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, was crucified,*
' *dead, and buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Ari-*
' *mathea; rose again the third day, and ascended into*
' *heaven, and sits on the right hand of God, in the power*
' *and majesty of his Father; who will one day judge the*
' *world by him, even that blessed Man, Christ Jesus,*
' *according to their works.'*

§. 2. But because we *so* believe, must we not believe what Christ said, "He that is with you shall be *in you*?" John xiv. "I *in them*, and they *in me*," &c. chap. xvii.
' *When*

“ When it pleased God to reveal his Son *in me*,” &c. Gal. “ The mystery hid from ages, is Christ *in the* “ *Gentiles* the hope of glory,” Col. i. “ Unless Christ “ *be in you*, ye are reprobates?” 2 Cor. xiii. Or must we be industriously represented deniers of Christ’s coming in the *flesh*, and the holy *ends* of it, in all the parts and branches of his *doing* and *suffering*, only because we believe and press the necessity of believing, receiving and obeying his *inward* and *spiritual* appearance and manifestation of himself, through his *light*, *grace*, and *spirit* in the hearts and consciences of men and women, to reprove, convict, convert and change them? This we esteem hard and unrighteous measure; nor would our warm and sharp adversaries be so dealt with by others: but to do as they would be done to, is too often no part of their practice, whatever it be of their profession.

§. 3. Yet we are very ready to declare to the whole world, that we cannot think men and women can be *saved* by their *belief* of the *one*, without the *sense* and *experience* of the *other*; and *that* is what we oppose, and not his blessed manifestation in the *flesh*. We say, that he then overcame our common enemy, foiled him in the open field, and, in *our nature*, triumphed over *him*, that had overcome and triumphed over *it* in our fore-father *Adam* and his posterity: and that as truly as Christ overcame him in *our nature*, in his own *person*, so, by his *divine grace*, being received and obeyed by us, he overcomes him in *us*: that is, he *deseñs* the enemy by his *light* in the conscience, and *enables* the creature to *resist* him, and all his fiery darts; and, finally, so to fight the good fight of faith, as to *overcome* him, and lay hold on eternal life.

§. 4. And this is the dispensation of *grace*, which we declare has appeared to *all*, more or less; teaching those that will receive it, “ to deny ungodliness “ and worldly lusts, and to live soberly, righteously, “ and godly in this present world; looking for (which “ *none else* can justly do) the blessed hope, and glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour “ Jesus

“Jesus Christ,” &c. Tit. ii. 11, 12, 13. And as from the teachings, experience and motion, of this grace we minister to others, so the very drift of our ministry is to turn people’s minds to this grace in *themselves*, that all of them may up and be doing, “even the good and acceptable will of God, and “work out their salvation with fear and trembling, “and make their high and heavenly calling and election sure;” which none else can do, whatever be their profession, church, and character: for “such as “men sow they must reap;” and “his servants we “are whom we obey.” Regeneration we must know, or we cannot be children of God, and heirs of eternal glory: and to be born again, *another* spirit and principle must prevail, leaven, season, and govern us, than either the spirit of the world, or our own *depraved* spirits; and this can be no *other* spirit than *that* which dwelt in *Christ*; for unless that dwell in us, we can be none of *his*, Rom. viii. 9. And this spirit begins in *conviction*, and ends in *conversion* and *perseverance*; and the one follows the other: *conversion* being the consequence of convictions *obeyed*, and *perseverance* a natural *fruit* of conversion, and being born of *God*; for such “sin not, because the seed of God abides “in them:” John iii. 7, 8. But such, through faithfulness, continue to the end, and obtain the promise, even everlasting life.

§. 5. But let my reader take this along with him, that we do acknowledge that *Christ*, through his holy *doing* and *suffering*, (for “being a *son*, he learned *obedience*,”) has obtained *mercy* of God his Father for mankind; and that *his obedience* has an influence to *our salvation*, in all the parts and branches of it, since thereby he became a *conqueror*, and “led captivity “captive, and obtained gifts for men, with divers “great and precious promises, that thereby we might “be partakers of the divine nature, having (*first*) “escaped the *corruption* that is in the world, through “lust,” I say, we do believe, and confess, that the *active* and *passive obedience* of *Christ Jesus* affects our *salvation*.

salvation *throughout*, as well from the power and pollution of sin, as from the guilt; he being a *conqueror*, as well as a *sacrifice*, and both through suffering: yet they that reject his divine *gift*, so obtained, (and which he has given to them, by which to *see* their sin, and the sinfulness of it, and to *repent* and *turn away* from it, and do so no more; and to wait upon God for daily strength to resist the fiery darts of the enemy, and to be comforted through the obedience of faith in and to this divine *grace* of the Son of God) such do not *please* God, believe truly *in* God, nor are they in a state of *true* Christianity and salvation. "Woman," said Christ, to the Samaritan, at the well, "hadst thou known the gift of God, and who it is that speaketh to thee," &c. People know not Christ, and God, "whom to know is life eternal," John xvii. because they are ignorant of the *gift* of God, viz. "a measure of the *spirit* of God that is given to every one to profit with," 1 Cor. xii. 7. which reveals Christ and God to the soul, chap. ii. *Flesh* and *blood* cannot do it, *Oxford* and *Cambridge* cannot do it, *tongues* and *philosophy* cannot do it: for they that by *wisdom* knew not God, had *these* things for their *wisdom*. They were strong, deep and accurate in them; but, alas! they were clouded, puffed up, and set farther off from the inward and saving knowledge of God, because they sought for it in *them*, and thought to find God *there*. But the *key* of *David* is another thing, "which shuts, and no man opens, and opens, and no man shuts;" and this *key* have all they that receive the *gift* of God into their hearts, and it opens to them the knowledge of God and themselves, and gives them a *quite other* sight, taste and judgment of things, than their *educational* or *traditional* knowledge afforded them. This is the *beginning* of the *new creation* of God, and thus it is we come to be *new* creatures.

And we are bold to declare, there is no other way like this, by which people can come into Christ, or be true Christians, or receive the advantage that comes by

by the death and sufferings of the Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore we say, and upon good authority, even that of our own *experience*, as well as that of the scriptures of truth, 'Christ will prove no *saving sacrifice* for 'them, that refuse to obey him for their *example*.' They that *reject* the *gift*, deny the *giver*, instead of *themselves* for the giver's *sake*. O that people were wise, that they would consider their latter end, and the things that make for the peace thereof! Why should they perish in a vain hope of *life*, while *death* reigns? Of living *with* God, who live not *to* him, nor walk *with* him? Awake, thou that sleepest in thy sin, or, at best, in thy self-righteousness! Awake, I say, and Christ shall give thee life! for he is the "Lord from heaven, the quickening spirit," that quickens us, by his spirit, if we do not *resist* it and *quench* it by our disobedience, but receive, love and obey it, in all the holy leadings and teachings of it. Rom. viii. 14, 15. To which holy spirit I commend my reader, that he may the better see where he is, and also come to the true belief and advantage of the *doings* and *sufferings* of our dear and blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, who saves from the *power* and *pollution*, as well as *guilt* of sin, all those that "hear his knocks, and open the door of their hearts "to him," that he may come in, and work a real and thorough *reformation* in and for them; and so the benefit, virtue, and efficacy of his doings and sufferings *without us*, will come to be livingly and effectually applied and felt, and fellowship with Christ in his death and sufferings known, according to the doctrine of the apostle; which those that live in *that* which *made* him suffer, *know* not, though they profess to be saved by his death and sufferings. Much more might be said as to this matter, but I must be brief.

§. 6. To conclude this chapter: we wonder not that we should be mistaken, mis-construed and misrepresented, in what we believe and do to salvation, since our betters have been so treated in the primitive
times.

times. Nor, indeed, is it only about *doctrines* of religion; for our *practice* in worship and discipline has had the same success. But this is what I earnestly desire, that however bold people are pleased to make with us, they would not *deceive* themselves in the great things of their own salvation: that while they would seem to own all to Christ, they are not found *disowned* of Christ in the last day. Read the 7th of Matthew: it is he that *bears Christ*, the great *word of God*, and *does* what he *enjoins*, what he commands, and by his blessed example recommends, that is a *wise builder*, that has founded his house well, and built with good materials, and whose house will stand the last shock and judgment. For which cause we are often plain, close and earnest with people to consider, that Christ came not to save them *in*, but *from*, their sins; and that they that think to discharge and release themselves of his yoke and burden, his *cross* and *example*, and secure themselves, and compliment Christ with his having done all *for them* (while he has wrought little or nothing *in them*, nor they parted with any thing for the *love* of him) will finally awake in a dreadful surprize, at the sound of the last trumpet, and at this sad and irrevocable sentence, "Depart
 " from me, ye workers of iniquity, I know you not:" which terrible end may all timely avoid, by "heark-
 " ening to wisdom's voice, and turning at her re-
 " proof, that she may lead them in the ways of right-
 " eousness, and in the midst of the paths of judg-
 " ment, that their souls may come to inherit *sub-*
 " *stance*;" even *durable* riches and righteousness, in the kingdom of the Father, world without end.

C H A P. X.

- §. 1. Of the true *worship* of God, in what it stands.
 §. 2. Of the true *ministry*, that it is by *inspiration*.
 §. 3. The scripture plain in that case. §. 4. Christ's ministers, *true witnesses*, they speak what they *know*, not by report. §. 5. Christ's ministers preach *freely*, it is one of their *marks*.

§. 1. **A**S the Lord wrought effectually, by his divine grace, in the hearts of this people, so he thereby brought them to a divine *worship* and *ministry*; Christ's words they came to experience, viz. "That God was a spirit, and that he would therefore be worshipped in the spirit, and in the truth, and that such worshippers the Father would seek to worship him." For, bowing to the convictions of the spirit in themselves, in their daily course of living, by which they were taught to eschew that which was made manifest to them to be evil, and to do that which was good, they, in their assembling together, sat down and waited for the preparation of this holy spirit, both to let them see their states and conditions before the Lord, and to worship him acceptably; and as they were sensible of wants, or shortness, or infirmities, so in the secret of their own hearts, prayer would spring to God, through Jesus Christ, to help, assist, and supply: but they did not dare to "awake their beloved before his time;" or "approach the throne of the king of glory, till he held out his scepter;" or "take thought what they should say," or after their *own*, or *other mens*, studied words and forms; for this were to offer *strange fire*; to pray, but not by the *spirit*; to ask, but not in the *name*, that is, in the *power*, of our Lord Jesus Christ, who prayed, as well as spoke, like one having authority, that is, *power*, a *divine energy* and *force* to reach and pierce the heavens, which he gives to all that obey his *light, grace,*
and

and *spirit*, in their solemn waitings upon him. So that it is this people's principle, that *fire must come from heaven*, life and power from God, to enable the soul to pour out itself acceptably before him. And when a *coal from his holy altar touches our lips*, then can we pray and praise him as we ought to do. And as this is our principle, and that according to scripture, so it is, blessed be God, our experience and practice: and therefore it is we are separated from the worships of men under their several forms, because they do not found it in the operation, motion and assistance of the spirit of Christ, but the appointment, invention and framing of man, both as to matter, words, and time. We do not dissent in our *own* wills, and we dare not comply against *his* that has called us, and brought us to his own spiritual worship; in obedience to whom we are what we are, in our separation from the divers ways of worship in the world.

§. 2. And as our *worship* stands in the operation of the *spirit* and *truth* in our inward parts, as before expressed, so does our *ministry*. For as the holy testimonies of the servants of God of old, were from the operation of his blessed spirit, so must those of his servants be in every age; and that which has *not* the spirit of Christ for its spring and source, is of *man*, and not of *Christ*. Christian ministers are to minister what they *receive*: this is scripture: now that which we *receive* is not our *own*, less another man's, but the *Lord's*: so that we are not only not to *steal* from our neighbours, but we are not to study nor speak our *own* words. If we are not to study what we are to say before magistrates for *ourselves*, less are we to study what we are to say *for* and *from* God to the *people*. We are to minister, "as the oracles of *God*:" if so, then must we receive from *Christ*, God's great oracle, what we are to minister. And if we are to minister what we *receive*, then not what we study, collect, and beat out of our own brains; for that is not the mind of *Christ*, but our *imaginations*, and this will not *profit* the people.

§. 3. This was recommended to the Corinthians by the apostle Paul, 1 Cor. xiv. that they should speak "as they were *moved*," or "as any thing was *revealed*" to them, by the spirit," for the edification of the church; for, says he, "Ye may *all* prophesy;" that is, 'Ye may all preach to edification, as any thing is *revealed* to you, for the good of others, and as the *spirit* giveth utterance.' And if the *spirit* must give Christ's ministers their utterance, then those that are his are careful not to utter any thing in his name to the people, *without* his spirit; and, by good consequence, they that go *before* the true guide, and utter words without the knowledge of the *mind* of the spirit, are none of Christ's ministers: such, certainly, run, and God has not sent them, and they cannot profit the people. And indeed, how should they, when it is impossible that mere *man*, with all his parts, arts and acquirements, can "turn people from darkness to light, and from the power of Satan to God," which is the very end and work of the gospel-ministry. It must be *inspired* men, men gifted by *God*, taught and influenced by his heavenly *spirit*, that can be qualified for so great, so inward, and so spiritual a work.

§. 4. *Ministers* of Christ are his *witnesses*; and the credit of a witness is, that he has *heard*, *seen*, or *handled*: and thus the beloved disciple states the *truth* and *authority* of their *mission* and *ministry*; 1 John i. 1, 3. "That which we have heard, which we have seen with our eyes, which we have looked upon, and our hands have handled, that declare we unto you, that your fellowship may be with us, and truly our fellowship is with the Father, and with his Son Jesus Christ." I say, if Christ's ministers are his witnesses, they must *know* what they speak; that is, they must have experienced, and passed through, those *states* and *conditions* they preach of, and practically know those truths they declare of to the people, or they come not in by the *door*, but over the wall, and are *thieves* and *robbers*. He that has the key of David comes in at the door, Christ Jesus, and has his admis-

sion and approbation from him, *anointed* by him, the alone *big priest* of the gospel dispensation. He it is that *breathes*, and lays his *hands* upon his own ministers; he *anoints* them, and recruits their cruise, and renews their horn with *oil*, that they may have it fresh and fresh, for every occasion and service he calls them to, and engages them in.

§. 5. Nor is this all, but as they “Receive freely, freely they give:” they do not teach for *hire*, divine for *money*, nor preach for *gifts* or *rewards*. It was Christ’s holy command to his ministers to give *freely*, and it is our practice. And truly we cannot but admire that this should be made a fault, and that preaching for hire should not be seen to *be* one, yea, a *mark* of false prophets, when it has been so frequently and severely cried out upon, by the true prophets of God in former times. I would not be uncharitable; but the guilty are desired to call to mind, who it was that offered *money* to be made a minister, and what it was for, if not to *get* money, and make a trade or livelihood by it; and what answer he met with from the apostle Peter, Acts viii. 18, 19, 20. The Lord touch the hearts of those that are giving money to be made ministers, in order to *live* by their preaching, that they may see what ground it is they build upon, and repent, and turn to the Lord, that they may find mercy, and become living witnesses of his power and goodness in their own souls; so may they be enabled to tell others *what God has done for them*, which is the *root* and *ground* of the true ministry; and this ministry it is that God does bless. I could say much on this subject, but let what has been said suffice at this time; only I cannot but observe, that where any religion has a strong temptation of gain to induce men to be ministers, there is great danger of their running faster to that calling, than becomes a true gospel minister.

§. 1. Obj. ‘But does not this sort of ministry, and worship, tend to make people *careless*, and to raise
‘ spiritual

‘ spiritual pride in others? May it not give an occasion to great mischief and irreligion?’

Ans. By no means; for when people are of *age*, they of right, expect their inheritances; and the end of all words is to bring people to the great *word*, and then the promise of God is accomplished, “ They shall be all taught of *me*, from the least to the greatest, and in righteousness (pray mark that) they shall be established, and great shall be their peace.” To this of the evangelical prophet, the beloved disciple agrees, and gives a full answer to the objection: “ These things have I written unto you, concerning them that *seduce* you: but the *anointing*, which ye have received of him, abideth in you, and ye need not that any man teach you, but as the same *anointing* teacheth you of all things, and is truth, and is no lie: and even as it hath taught you, ye shall abide in him.” In which, three things are observable. 1st. That he writ his epistle upon an extraordinary occasion, viz. to prevent their *delusion*. 2dly. That he asserts a *nearer* and *superior* minister than himself, viz. The *anointing* or *grace* they had received, and that not only in *that* particular exigency, but in *all cases* that might attend them. 3dly. That if they did but take heed to the teachings of it, they would have no need of *man’s* directions, or fear of his seducings; at least of no *ministry* that comes not from the *power* of the *anointing*: though I rather take the apostle in the *biggest* sense of the words: thus also the apostle Paul to the Thessalonians, “ But as touching brotherly love, ye need not that I write unto you: for ye yourselves are taught of *God* to love one another.” 1 Thess. iv. 9. But *helps* are *useful*, and a great blessing, if from *God*, such was John the Baptist’s; but remember he pointed all to *Christ*, 1 John i. 26. “ Lo the Lamb of God! I baptize you with *water*, but he shall baptize you with the *Holy Ghost*, and with *fire*,” Matt. iii. 11. And so the *true* ministry *does*. And while people are *sensual*, and under such an eclipse, by the interposition of *sin* and *Satan*,

God is pleased to send forth his *enlightening* servants to awaken and turn from the *darkness* to the *light* in themselves, that, through obedience to it, they may come to be "children of the light," John xii. 36. and have their fellowship one with another *in it*, and an inheritance, at last, with the saints in light for ever.

And as it is the way God has taken to call and gather people, so a *living* and *holy ministry* is of great advantage, to watch over and build up the young, and comfort and establish the feeble and simple ones. But still, I say, the *more inward*, the *less outward*: the more people come to be taught immediately of *God*, by the light of his word and Spirit in their hearts, the less need of *outward* means: read Isaiah ~~lxiii.~~ 19, 20. which is held by all to be a gospel promise, and the *sun* and *moon* there are generally understood to mean the *external means* in the church. Compare them with John i. 13. Rom. i. 19. 1 Cor. ii. 11, 15. 1 Thess. iv. 9. 1 John ii. 20, 27. Rev. xxi. 22, 23, 24. All which places prove what we assert of the sufficiency and glorious privilege of inward and spiritual teachings. And, most certainly, as men grow in *grace*, and know the *anointing* of the *word* in themselves, the dispensation will be *less* in words (though *in words*) and more in *life*; and *preaching* will in great measure be turned into *praising*, and the *worship* of God, more into *walking with*, than *talking of*, God: for that is *worship* indeed, that *bows* to his will at *all times*, and in *all places*: the *truest*, the *biggest* worship man is capable of in this world. And it is that *conformity* that gives communion; and there is no fellowship with God, no light of his countenance to be enjoyed, no peace and assurance to be had, farther than their obedience to his *will*, and a faithfulness to his *word*, according to the manifestation of the light thereof in the heart.

I say, this is the *truest* and *biggest* state of worship; for *set days* and *places*, with all the solemnity of them, were most in request in the *weakest* dispensation. *Altars*, *ark*, and *temples*, *sabbaths* and *festivals*, &c. are not to be found in the writings of the New Testament. There, every

every day is *alike*, and every place is *alike*; but if there were a dedication "let it be to the *Lord*." Thus the apostle; but he plainly shews a state beyond it, "for "to live (with *him*) was Christ, and to die was gain;" for the life he lived "was by the faith of the Son of "God; and therefore it was not *he* that lived, but Christ "that lived *in him*;"^b that is, that *ruled, conducted, and bore sway* in him, which is the *true Christian life, the supersensual life; the life of conversion and regeneration;* to which all the dispensations of God, and ministry of his servants, have ever tended, as the *consummation* of God's work for man's happiness. Here every man is a *temple*, and every family a *church*, and every place, a *meeting-place*, and every visit, a *meeting*. And yet a little while, and it shall be so yet more and more; and a people the Lord is now preparing to enter into this sabbath or degree of rest.

Not that we should be thought to undervalue publick and solemn meetings; we have them all over the nation where the Lord has called us. Yea, though but two or three of us be in a corner of a country, we meet, as the apostle exhorted the saints of his time, and reprov'd such as neglected to assemble themselves. But yet shew we unto thee, O reader, "a more *excellent way of worship*:" for many have come to those meetings, and go away *carnal, dead, and dry*; but the worshippers in *spirit* and in *truth*, whose *hearts bow*, whose *minds adore* the eternal God, "that is a Spirit," in and by his Spirit, such as conform to his will, and walk with him in a spiritual life, they are the *true, constant, living, and acceptable* worshippers, whether it be in meetings or out of meetings: and as with such, all outward assemblies are greatly comfortable, so also do we meet for a *publick testimony of religion and worship*, and for the *edification and encouragement* of those that are yet *young* in the truth, and to *call and gather* others to the knowledge of it, who are yet going

^b Rom. xiv. 5, 6, 7, 8, 17. 1 Cor. viii. 6. Col. ii. 16, 17. Phil. i. 21. Gal. ii. 20.

astray: and, blessed be God, it is not in vain, since many are thereby added to the church, that we hope, and believe, shall be saved.

C H A P. XI.

- §. 1. Against *tithes*. §. 2. Against all *swearing*. §. 3. Against *war* among *Christians*. §. 4. Against the *salutations* of the *times*. §. 5. And for plainness of *speech*. §. 6. Against *mixed marriages*. §. 7. And for plainness in *apparel*, &c. No *sports* and *pastimes* after the manner of this world. §. 8. Of observing *days*. §. 9. Of care of poor, peace, and conversation.

§. 1. **A**ND as God has been pleased to call us from an *human* ministry, so we cannot, for conscience sake, support and maintain it: and upon that score, and not out of humour or covetousness, we refuse to pay *tithes*, or such-like pretended dues, concerning which, many books have been writ in our defence: we cannot support what we cannot approve, but have a testimony against; for thereby we should be found inconsistent with ourselves.

§. 2. We dare not *swear*, because Christ forbids it, Mat. v. 34, 37. and James, his true follower. It is needless, as well as evil; for the reason of swearing being *untruth*, that mens *yea was not yea*, *swearing* was used to awe men to truth-speaking, and to give others satisfaction that what was sworn was *true*. But the true Christian's *yea being yea*, the end of an *oath* is answered, and therefore the use of it is *needless*, *superfluous*, and cometh of *evil*. The apostle James taught the same doctrine, and the primitive Christians practised it, as may be seen in the Book of Martyrs; as also the earliest and best of the reformers.

§. 3. We also believe, that *war* ought to *cease* among the followers of the *Lamb*, Christ Jesus, who taught his disciples to "forgive and love their enemies," and not to *war* against them, and *kill* them; and that therefore
the

the weapons of his true followers are not *carnal*, but *spiritual*; yea mighty, through God, to cut down *sin* and *wickedness*, and dethrone *him* that is the *author* thereof. And as this is the most *Christian*, so the most *rational* way; love and persuasion having more force than weapons of war. Nor would the worst of men easily be brought to *hurt* those that they really think *love* them. It is that love and patience which must, in the end, have the victory.

§. 4. We dare not give worldly honour, or use the frequent and *modish salutations* of the times, seeing plainly, that *vanity*, *pride*, and *ostentation*, belong to them. Christ also *forbad* them in his day, and made the *love* of them a mark of declension from the simplicity of purer times; and his disciples, and their followers, were observed to have obeyed their Master's precept. It is not to distinguish ourselves a party, or out of *pride*, *ill-breeding*, or *humour*, but in obedience to the sight and sense we have received from the Spirit of Christ, of the *evil rise* and tendency thereof.

§. 5. For the same reason we have returned to the first plainness of speech, viz. *thou* and *thee*, to a single person; which though men give no other to *God*, they will hardly endure it from *us*. It has been a great test upon *pride*, and shewn the blind and weak *insides* of many. This also is out of pure conscience, whatever people may think or say of us for it. We may be despised, and have been so often, yea, very evilly intreated; but we are now better known, and people better informed. In short, it is also both *scripture* and *grammar*, and we have propriety of speech for it, as well as peace in it.

§. 6. We cannot allow of *mixed marriages*, that is, to join with such as are not of our society, but oppose and disown them, if at any time any of our profession so grossly err from the rule of their communion; yet restore them upon sincere repentance, but not disjoin them. The book I writ of the Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers, is more full and express therein.

§. 7. Plainness in *apparel* and *furniture*, is another testimony peculiar to us, in the degree that we have borne it to the world: as also *few words*, and being *at a word*. Likewise temperance in *food*, and abstinence from the *récreations* and *pastimes* of the world: all which we have been taught, by the Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, to be according to godliness; and therefore we have long exhorted all, that their “*Moderation* may be known unto all men, for that the “*Lord was at hand*,” to enter into judgment with us for every intemperance or excess; and herein we hope we have been no ill example, or scandal unto any that have a due consideration of things.

§. 8. We cannot, in conscience to God, observe *holy days*, (so called) the publick *fasts* and *feasts*, because of their *human* institution and ordination, and that they have not a *divine* warrant, but are appointed in the will of *man*.

§. 9. Lastly, we have been led by this good Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ of which I have treated in this discourse, according to primitive practice, to have a due *care* over one another, for the preservation of the whole society in a conversation more suitable to their holy profession.

First, In respect to a *strict* walking, both towards those that are without, and those that are within; that their conversation in the world, and walking in and towards the church, may be blameless. That as they may be *strict* in the one, so they may be *faithful* in the other.

Secondly, That collections be made to supply the wants of the *poor*, and that care be taken of *widows* and *orphans*, and such as are helpless, as well in counsel, as about substance.

Thirdly, That all such as are intended to marry, if they have *parents*, or are under the direction of *guardians* or *trustees*, are obliged, first, to declare to them their intention, and have their consent, before they propose it to one another, and the meeting they relate to; who are also careful to examine their clearness, and being
satisfied

fatisfied with it, they are by them allowed to solemnize their marriage in a publick select meeting, for that purpose appointed, and not otherwise: whereby all *clandestine* and *indirect* marriages are prevented among us.

Fourthly, And to the end that this good order may be observed, for the comfort and edification of the society, in the ways of truth and soberness; select meetings (of care and business) are fixed in all parts where we inhabit, which are held monthly, and which resolve into quarterly meetings, and those into one yearly meeting, for our better communication one with another, in those things that maintain piety and charity; that God, who by his grace has called us to be a people to his praise, may have it from us, through his beloved Son, and our ever-blessed and only Redeemer, Jesus Christ, for he is worthy, worthy, now, and ever. Amen.

Thus, reader, thou hast the character of the people called Quakers, in their doctrine, worship, ministry, practice, and discipline: compare it with scripture and primitive example, and we hope thou wilt find, that this short discourse hath, in good measure, answered the title of it, viz.

Primitive Christianity Revived, in the Principles and Practice of the People called Quakers.

A
T E S T I M O N Y
T O T H E
T R U T H O F G O D,
A S H E L D B Y T H E
P E O P L E c a l l e d Q U A K E R S.

B E I N G

A S H O R T V I N D I C A T I O N of them from the A B U -
S E S and M I S R E P R E S E N T A T I O N S often put up-
on them by *Envious Apostates* and *Mercenary*
Adversaries.

Published in the Year 1698.

T O T H E R E A D E R.

R E A D E R,

O C c a s i o n h a v i n g b e e n g i v e n u s, w h i c h w e n e v e r
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f e s s i o n; t h a t, i f p o s s i b l e, p e o p l e m a y s e e, a t l e a s t t h e
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e d l y r e p r e s e n t e d: b u t t h a t w e h o l d t h e g r e a t t r u t h s o f
C h r i s t i a n i t y, a c c o r d i n g t o t h e h o l y s c r i p t u r e s, a n d

TO THE READER.

that the realities of religion are the mark we press after, and to disabuse and awaken people from their false hopes and carnal securities, under which they are too apt to indulge themselves, to their irreparable loss; that by our setting Christian doctrine in a true light, and reviving and pressing the necessity of a better practice, they may see the obligation they are under to redeem their precious time they have lost, by a more careful employment of that which remains, to a better purpose. In this short vindication of our mistaken principles, the ingenuous reader may easily discern how ill we have been treated, and what hardships we have laboured under, through the prejudice of some, and the unreasonable credulity of others, and that we are a people in earnest for heaven, and in that way our blessed Lord hath trod for us to glory.

A TESTIMONY

A

TESTIMONY

TO THE

TRUTH OF GOD.

BY the observation we are led to make from Francis Bugg's late book, upon the bishop of Norwich's giving him his recommendatory letter to the clergy, &c. in his diocese, to relieve, by a collection, the necessities of that beggarly apostate; a copy of which letter the said F. B. hath published in his said book:

And also by the observation we have made on the malicious attempts of the "Snake in the Grass," in his first, second, and third editions, which is a disingenuous and unjust collection from F. Bugg, and some other deserters, of things, for the most part, long since answered; as also lately, by the book intitled, "An Antidote," &c. (though because his second and third edition have some additions to his first, and that being new vamped, for a better market, he may expect a *molius inquirendum* after a while; yet should we follow the example of this *rattle-snake*, against the church of which he pretends to be a member, but at present a *suspended* one, we might, in retaliation, not only exceed the "Cobler of Gloucester," but the "Scotch Eloquence," and that master-piece, "The Ground of the Contempt of the Clergy:").

And,

And, lastly, by the observation we have made on the relation subscribed by some of the Norfolk clergy, dated October the 12th, 1698, we cannot forbear thinking, that as their confederacy is deep, so it aims at nothing less than the ruin of us, and our posterity, by rendering us blasphemers, and enemies to the government, and to be treated as such.

The Norfolk relation from the clergy aforesaid, charges the said people with *blasphemy*: first, *Against God*. Secondly, *Against Jesus Christ*. Thirdly, *Against the holy scriptures, with contempt of civil magistracy, and the ordinances which Jesus Christ instituted, viz. baptism by water, and the Lord's supper by bread and wine*. And, **Lastly**, *That the light within, as taught by us, leaves us without any certain rule, and exposes us to the blasphemies aforesaid, with many others*.

Now, because this charge refers to doctrine, rather than fact, or particular persons, we think ourselves concerned to say something in vindication of our profession, and to wipe off the dirt thereby intended to be cast upon us, in giving our reader a plain account of our principles, free from the perversions of our enemies.

But to manifest how uncharitably and unjustly the said clergymen have reflected upon the people called Quakers, with respect to the said charge, we are contented the reader goes no farther than their own printed relation, dated Nov. 12, 1698, not doubting but by that very relation, and the letters therewith printed, he will meet with intire satisfaction, with respect to the reasonableness and justice of the Quakers proceedings in that affair, and how ready they were to come to the test, and to bring the pretended charge upon the stage, and to purge themselves from the guilt of the same, provided they might be accommodated with what the common law allows malefactors, viz. a copy of their indictment; but this could not be obtained. And though the said clergy have thought fit to print the charge in general, without any proof, we think ourselves obliged to vindicate our profession, by freely declaring,

declaring, (as now we do, without any *mental reservation*) our sincere belief of the very things they most unjustly charge us with denying.

I. Concerning God.] Because we declare, that God is a "God nigh at hand," and that he is, according to his promise, become the "Teacher of his people" "by his spirit in these latter days;" and that "True believers are the temples for him to walk and dwell in," as the apostle teacheth; and experiencing something of the accomplishment of this great and glorious truth among us, and having therefore pressed people earnestly to the knowledge and enjoyment thereof, as the blessing and glory of the latter days; we have been ignorantly, or maliciously, represented and treated as hereticks and blasphemers, as if we owned no God in heaven above the stars, and confined the Holy One of Israel to our beings: whereas we believe him to be the Eternal, Incomprehensible, Almighty, All-wise and Omnipresent God, creator and upholder of all things, and that he fills heaven and earth, and that the "Heaven of heavens cannot contain him;" yet he saith, by the prophet Isaiah, "To that man will I have regard, that is poor, and of a contrite spirit, and which trembles at my word." So that for professing that which is the very *marrow* of the *Christian religion*, viz. 'Emanuel, God with us,' we are represented blasphemers against that God, with whom we leave our innocent and suffering cause. Isa. vii. xiv. xl. xxviii. xlvi. xvii. lxvi. 1, 2. 2 Cor. vi. 16. Rev. xxi. 3.

II. Concerning Jesus Christ.] Because we believe, that the *word* which was made flesh, and dwelt amongst men, and was and is the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth; his beloved Son, in whom he is well pleased, and whom we ought to hear in all things; who tasted death for every man, and died for sin, that we might die to sin; is the great *light of the world*, and full of grace and truth,
and

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and that he lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and giveth them grace for grace, and light for light, and that no man can know God and Christ, (whom to know is life eternal) and themselves, in order to true conviction and conversion, without receiving and obeying this holy light, and being taught by the Divine grace; and that without it, no remission, no justification, no salvation (as the scripture plentifully testifies) can be obtained: and because we therefore press the necessity of people's receiving the inward and spiritual appearance of his Divine word, in order to a *right* and *beneficial* application of whatsoever he did for man, with respect to his life, miracles, death, sufferings, resurrection, ascension and mediation; our adversaries would have us deny *any Christ without us*. First, As to his divinity, because they make us to confine him too within us. Secondly, As to his humanity, or manhood, because as he was the Son of Abraham, David, and Mary, according to the flesh, he cannot be in us, and therefore we are hereticks and blasphemers: whereas we believe him, according to the scripture, to be the Son of Abraham, David, and Mary, after the flesh, and also God over all, blessed for ever. So that he that is within us, is also without us, even the same that laid down his precious life for us, rose again from the dead, and ever liveth to make intercession for us, being the blessed and *alone* mediator betwixt God and man, and him by whom God will finally judge the world, both quick and dead: all which we as sincerely and steadfastly believe, as any other society of people, whatever may be ignorantly, or maliciously, insinuated to the contrary, either by our declared enemies, or mistaken neighbours. Deut. xv. 18. Mic. v. 2. John i. 1, 2, 3. Rev. xxii. 16.

III. Concerning the holy scriptures.] Because we assert the holy spirit to be the *first* great and general rule and guide of true Christians, as that by which God is worshipped, *sin* detected, *conscience* convicted, *duty*

duty manifested, *scripture* unfolded and explained, and consequently the rule for *understanding* the scriptures themselves (since by it they were at first given forth) from hence our adversaries are pleased to make us *blasphemers* of the holy scriptures, undervaluing their authority, preferring our own books before them, with more to that purpose: whereas, we, in truth and sincerity, believe them to be of divine authority, given by the inspiration of God, through holy men; they speaking or writing them as they were *moved* by the Holy Ghost: that they are a declaration of those things most surely believed by the primitive Christians, and that as they contain the mind and will of God, and are his commands to us, so they, in that respect, are his *declaratory* word; and therefore are obligatory on us, and are “profitable for doctrine, reproof, correction, and instruction in righteousness, that the man of God may be perfect, and thoroughly furnished to every good work.”

Nay, after all, so *unjust* is the charge, and so remote from our belief concerning the holy scriptures, that we both love, honour, and prefer them, before all books in the world; ever chusing to express our belief of the Christian faith and doctrine in the terms thereof, and rejecting all principles or doctrines whatsoever, that are repugnant thereunto.

Nevertheless we are well persuaded, that notwithstanding there is such an excellency in the holy scriptures, as we have above declared, yet the *unstable* and *unlearned* in *Christ's* school too often *wrest* them to their own destruction. And upon our reflection on their *carnal* constructions of them, we are made undervaluers of *scripture itself*. But certain it is, that as the Lord hath been pleased to give us the experience of the fulfilling of them in measure, so it is altogether contrary to our faith and practice, to put any manner of slight or contempt upon them, much more of being guilty of what maliciously is suggested against us; since no society of professed Christians in the world can have a more reverent and honourable esteem for

them than we have. John iv. 24. and xvi. 8. Rom. i. 19. Luke i. 1, 2. Tim. iii. 16, 17. 2 Pet. iii. 16.

IV. Concerning magistracy.] Because we have not *actively* complied with divers statutes, which have been made to force an *uniformity* to what we have no faith in, but the testimony of our conscience is against; and because, for conscience sake, we could not give those *marks* of honour and respect, which were and are the usual practice of those that “seek honour one of another, and not that honour which comes from God only,” (but measure and weigh honour and respect in a *false* balance, and *deceitful* measure, on which, neither magistrate, ruler, or people can depend) we say, because we could not, for conscience sake, give flattering titles, &c. we have been rendered as despisers and contemners of *magistracy*: whereas our principles, often repeated upon the many revolutions that have happened, do evidently manifest the contrary; as well as our peaceable behaviour from the beginning, under all the various forms of government, hath been an undeniable plea in our favour, when those that also have professed the same principles of *non-resistance*, and *passive obedience*, have quitted their principles, and yet quarrel with us, upon a supposition that we will, in time, write after their copy: which, as nothing is more contrary to our principles, faith, and doctrine, so nothing can be more contrary to our constant practice.

For we not only really believe magistracy to be an ordinance of God, but esteem it an extraordinary blessing, where it is “a praise to them that do well, and “a terror to evil-doers:” which that it may be so in this our native land, is the fervent desire of our souls, that the blessing and peace of God may be continued thereupon, Job. xxxii. 21. John v. 44. Acts v. 29. 1 Pet. ii. 13, 14.

V. Concerning baptism.] Because we do not find in any place in the four evangelists, that Jesus Christ instituted

stituted *baptism* by *water* to come in the room of *circumcision*, or to be the baptism proper to his kingdom, which stands “ in righteousness, peace, and joy in “ the Holy Ghost ;” we are therefore rendered as contempters of *Christ’s baptism*: whereas the baptism of Jesus Christ, of which he was Lord and administrator, according to the nature of his office and kingdom, is, even by *John the Baptist*, declared to be that of *fire* (not *water*) and of the *Holy Ghost*, of which *water-baptism* was but the forerunner, and is, by them that now practise it, called but the *outward* and *visible sign* of the *inward* and *spiritual grace*; and therefore not the *grace itself*; which grace, as the apostle saith, is *sufficient* for us, and which we believe, profess, and experience to be come by Jesus Christ, who is the *substance* of all signs and shadows to true believers; he being no more a Jew or a Christian that is one *outwardly*, by the cutting or washing of the flesh; but he is a Jew or Christian who is one *inwardly*, and circumcision and baptism is of the *heart*, in the Spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is therefore not of men, but of God: and this baptism Christ preferred and recommended at his farewell to his disciples: in reverence and duty to whom, to say nothing of the *abuse* of water-baptism, we decline the use thereof, Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. John i. 17. Acts i. 5. Rom. xiv. 17. Rom. ii. 28, 29. 1 Cor. i. 17. 2 Cor. xii. 9.

VI. Concerning breaking bread, &c.] Because we also disuse the *outward ceremony* of breaking bread and drinking wine, which is commonly called the *Lord’s supper*, we are therefore rendered deniers and contempters of the Lord’s supper: whereas the inward and spiritual *grace*, thereby *signified*, viz. that *bread* which came down from *heaven*, which Christ prefers to the bread the fathers eat in the wilderness (which did not keep them from *death*) and that *cup* which he promised to drink *a-new* with his disciples in his Father’s kingdom, we not only believe, but reverently partake of, to our unspeakable comfort, which is rightly and truly

the communion of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, who said, "Except you eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his blood, you have no life in you," John vi. 53, 63. For it is "the Spirit that quickens, the flesh profits nothing:" It was also his promise to all those that would open at his knocks, viz. "That he would *come in*, and *sup* with them;" which inward and spiritual coming, we have both known, and testified to; feeling the blessed effects thereof in our souls, and knowing the *outward breaking of bread* and *drinking of wine*, in the way commonly practised, is no more than it is declared to be, viz. *An outward and visible sign*: why, then, should any contend about it, and render us unchristian, for refusing what themselves allow to be but an *outward and visible sign*? and that none can reasonably believe to be an *essential* part of religion, as is the bread from *heaven*; of which the *outward* is, at best, but a *signification*: but the wine that Christ promised to drink with his disciples *a-new*, is such an *essential*, that without it none have, nor can have *eternal life*, Mat. xxvi. 29. Mark xiv. 25. John vi. 41, 50, 51, 58, 63. Rev. iii. 20.

VII. Concerning the light of Christ.] Because we assert the sufficiency of the *light within*, it being the light of *Christ*, viz. That if men live up to the teachings thereof, in all manner of faithfulness and obedience, "they shall not abide in darkness, but have the light of life and salvation, and the blood of Christ shall cleanse them from all sin;" our adversaries from thence conceive, that we undervalue the rule of holy scriptures, and *all* outward means, as having no need thereof, since we have such a means and rule *within* us, and that this leaves us without any certain rule, and exposes us to many blasphemies, &c. whereas the light within (or Christ, by his light, inwardly teaching) was never taught by us in *opposition* to, or *contempt* of, any outward means, that God, in his wisdom and providence, affords us for our edification and comfort, no more than did that blessed apostle, who
said,

said, " You need not that any man teach you, but as
 " the same anointing teacheth you all things, and is
 " truth, and is no lie," John xii. 46. 1 John i. 6, 7.
 1 John i. 2, 27.

VIII. Concerning the Father, the Word, and the Spirit.]
 Because we have been very cautious in expressing our
 faith concerning that great mystery, especially in such
 school terms and philosophical distinctions as are *un-*
scriptural, if not *unsound*, (the tendency whereof hath
 been to raise frivolous controversies and animosities
 amongst men) we have, by those that desire to lessen
 our Christian reputation, been represented as deniers of
 the Trinity at large: whereas we ever believed, and as
 constantly maintained, the truth of that blessed (holy
 scripture) " three, that bear record in heaven, the Father,
 " the Word, and the Spirit, and that these three are
 " one;" the which we both sincerely and reverently be-
 lieve, according to 1 John v. 7. And this is *sufficient*
 for us to believe and know, and hath a tendency to
 edification and holiness; when the contrary centers only
 in imaginations and strife, and persecution, where it
 runs high, and to parties, as may be read in bloody
 characters in the Ecclesiastical Histories.

IX. Concerning works.] Because we make evangeli-
 cal obedience a condition to salvation, and works
 wrought in us by the Spirit to be an evidence of faith,
 and holiness of life to be both necessary and rewardable;
 it hath been insinuated against us, as if we hoped to be
 saved by our own *works*, and so make *them* the merito-
 rious cause of our salvation, and consequently popish.

Whereas we know, that it is not by works of right-
 eousness that *we* can do, but by his own *free grace* he
 is pleased to accept of us, through faith in, and obe-
 dience to, his blessed Son the Lord Jesus Christ, Heb.
 v. 9. and xii. 14.

X. Of Christ's being our example.] Because, in some
 cases, we have said, the Lord Jesus was our great ex-
 ample,

ample, and that his obedience to his Father doth not excuse *ours*; but as by keeping his commandments, he abode in his Father's love, so must we follow his example of obedience, to abide in *his* love; some have been so ignorant (or that which is worse) as to venture to say for us, or in our name, that we believe our Lord Jesus Christ was, in all things, *but* an example.

Whereas we confess him to be so much *more* than an example, that we believe him to be our most acceptable sacrifice to God his Father; who, for his sake, will look upon fallen man, that hath justly merited the wrath of God, upon his return by repentance, faith, and obedience, as if he had *never* sinned at all, 1 John ii. 12. Rom. iii. 26. and x. 9, 10. Heb. v. 9.

XI. Concerning freedom from sin.] Because we have urged the necessity of a perfect freedom from sin, and a thorough sanctification in body, soul, and spirit, whilst on this side the grave, by the operation of the holy and perfect Spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, according to the testimony of holy scripture, we are made so presumptuous, as to assert the *fulnefs* of all perfection and happiness to be attainable in this life: whereas we are not only sensible of those human infirmities that attend us, whilst clothed with flesh and blood; but know that here we can only "know in part, and see in part:" the perfection of wisdom, glory, and happiness, being reserved for another and better world, John viii. 24, 25. Heb. xiii. 20, 21. and vi.

XII. Concerning worship to God.] Because we say, with the apostle, that men ought to pray, preach, sing, &c. with the spirit, and that without the preparation and assistance of it, no man can rightly worship God, (all worship without it being formal and carnal) from hence ignorance, or envy, suggests against us, that if God will not compel us by his Spirit, he must go without his worship: whereas nothing can be more absurd, since *without* it "no man can truly call *Jesus Lord*:" besides, it is our duty to *wait* upon him, who hath promised,

mised, not to compel, but fill them with renewings of strength, that *so wait* upon him, by which they are made capable to worship him acceptably, be it in praying, preaching, or praising of God: and how warrantable our practice herein is from holy scripture, see Psalm xxv. 5. xxxvii. 7. xxvii. 14. cxxx. 5, 6. Hosea xii. 6.

XIII. Of God and Christ's being in man.] Because we say, as do the holy scriptures, that God is light, and that Christ is light, and that God is in Christ, and that Christ, by his light, lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and dwelleth in them, and with them, that obey him in his inward and spiritual manifestations; people have been told by our adversaries, that we believe every man has whole God, and whole Christ, in him, and consequently so many Gods, and Christs, as men: whereas we assert nothing herein, but in the language of the Holy Ghost in the scriptures of truth; and mean no more by it, than that as God is in Christ, so Christ by his *Spirit* and *light*, dwelleth in the hearts of his *people*, to comfort and console them; as he doth in *wicked men* to *reprove* and *condemn* them, as well as to *call*, *enlighten*, and *instruct* them, that out of that state of condemnation they may come, and, by believing in him, may experience their hearts cured of the maladies sin hath brought upon them, in order to complete salvation from sin here, and from wrath to come hereafter, 2 Cor. v. 9. 1 John i. 5.

XIV. Of Christ's coming both in flesh and Spirit.] Because the tendency (generally speaking) of our ministry, is to press people to the inward and spiritual appearance of Christ, by his spirit and grace in their hearts, to give them a true sight and sense of, and sorrow for, sin, to amendment of life, and practice of holiness; and because we have often opposed that doctrine of being actually *justified* by the merits of Christ, whilst actual sinners against God, by living in the pollutions of this wicked world; we are by our adversaries

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rendered such, as either deny, or undervalue, the coming of Christ without us, and the force and efficacy of his death and sufferings, as a propitiation for the sins of the whole world.

Whereas we do, and hope we ever shall (as we always did) confess, to the glory of God the Father, and the honour of his dear and beloved Son, *That he, to wit, Jesus Christ, took our nature upon him, was like us in all things, sin excepted: that he was born of the virgin Mary, went about amongst men doing good, and working many miracles: that he was betrayed by Judas into the hands of the chief priests, &c. that he suffered death under Pontius Pilate, the Roman governor, being crucified between two thieves, and was buried in the sepulchre of Joseph of Arimathea: rose again the third day from the dead, and ascended into heaven, and sits at God's right hand, in the power and majesty of his Father; and that by him, God the Father, will one day judge the whole world, both of quick and dead, according to their works.*

XV. Concerning the resurrection.] Because from the authority of holy scripture, as well as right reason, we deny the resurrection of the *same gross and corruptible* body, and are neither over-inquisitive nor critical about *what* bodies we shall have at the resurrection, leaving it to the Lord, to give us such bodies as he pleases, (and with that we are well pleased and satisfied, and wish all others were so too); from hence we are made not only deniers of the resurrection of *any* body *at all*, however spiritual, or glorified, but eternal rewards too.

Whereas, if it were true, as it is notoriously false, we were, indeed, of all men, most miserable: but, blessed be God, it is so far from being true, that we most steadfastly believe, that as our Lord Jesus Christ was raised from the dead, by the power of the Father, and was the *first-fruits* of the resurrection, so every *man*, in his *own order*, shall arise; they that have done *well*, to the resurrection of eternal life: but they that have done *evil*, to everlasting condemnation.

And

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And because we are a people whose education hath not afforded us an *accuracy* of language, some passages may perhaps have been *mis-expressed*, or improperly *worded* (as for instance, one of us hath denied, in his book, the soul to be *finite*: by which he plainly meant *mortal*, or *final*, to *die*, or have an *end*, which *finis* signifies, from whence *finite* comes); our uncharitable opposers have concluded, we hold the soul to be *infinite*, and consequently *God*: whereas the words before and after, as well as the nature of the things, shews plainly, he *only* meant that it is *eternal*, and so not *finite*; that is, not *terminable*, or that which shall come to an *end*.

And also, because we have not declared ourselves; about matters of faith, in the many and *critical* words "that *man's* wisdom teacheth," but in the words which the "*Holy Ghost* teacheth," we have been esteemed either *ignorant*, or *equivocal*, and *unsound*: whereas it is really matter of conscience to us, to deliver our belief in *such* words as the Holy Spirit, in *scripture*, teacheth; and if we add *more* for illustration, it is from an *experience* of the work of the same Spirit in *ourselves*; which seems to us the *truest* way of expounding scripture, in what concerns saving knowledge.

XVI. Concerning separation.] Because we are separated from the publick communion and worship, it is too generally concluded, that we deny the doctrines received by the church, and consequently introduce a new religion: whereas we differ *least*, where we are thought to differ *most*: for, setting aside some *school terms*, we hold the *substance* of those doctrines believed by the *church of England*, as to God, Christ, Spirit, scripture, repentance, sanctification, remission of sin, holy living, and the resurrection of the just and unjust to eternal rewards and punishments. But that wherein we differ *most*, is about *worship* and *conversation*, and the *inward qualification* of the *soul* by the work of God's Spirit thereon, in pursuance of these good and generally received doctrines. For it is the Spirit of God
only

only convinces and converts the soul, and makes those that were *dead* in *trespasses* and *sins*, and in the lusts, pleasures, and fashions of this world, *alive* to God; that is, *sensible* of his mind and will, and of their duty to do them; and brings to know God, and his attributes, by the *power* of them upon their *own souls*; and leads to worship God rightly, which is in his *spirit*, and in *truth*, with hearts sanctified by the truth; which is a living and acceptable worship, and stands in *power*, not formality, nor in the *traditions* and *prescriptions* of men, in *synods* and *convocations*, but in the *holy spirit*. First, in shewing us our real *wants*, and then in helping our *infirmities* with *sighs* and *groans*, and sometimes *words*, to pray for a suitable supply, for which we in our meetings *wait* upon God, to *quicken* and *prepare* us, that we may worship him *acceptably* and *profitably*, for they go together. Now, because we are satisfied that all worship to God, and exhortations to men, as praying, praising, and preaching, and every other religious duty, ought to be spiritually performed; and finding so little of it among professors of Christianity, the spirit of God having not that rule and guidance of them, in their lives and worship, as it ought to have; and seeing them too generally satisfied with a ministry and worship of *man's* making, being not qualified, nor led by God's spirit thereunto; we cannot find that comfort and edification our souls crave and want under so *cold* a ministry and worship. And for this cause, and no presumptuous contempt, or selfish separation, or worldly interests, are we, and stand we at this day, a separate people from the publick communion; and in this we can comfortably appeal and recommend ourselves to God, the great and last judge of the acts and deeds of the sons of men.

Lastly, Because at the time of our friends first appearing in this age, there were a sect of people newly sprung up, and truly called *Ranters*, that were the *reverse* to the *Quakers*, (for they feared and quaked at *nothing*, but made a mock at fearing of God, and at sin, and at hell) who pretended that *love* made *fear* needless, and that nothing was *sin*, but to them that
thought

thought it so; and that *none* should be damned at last; whose extravagant practices exactly correspond with their evil principles; from hence, some ignorantly, and too many maliciously, involved us and ours with *them*; and many of their exorbitances were thereby placed to our account, though without the least reason, truth, or justice.

And because some that were convinced of God's truth, afterwards dishonoured their profession, through their unfaithfulness to it; and that some, out of *weakness*, perhaps, may have improperly *worded* what they intended to say, the whole body of our friends have been made *criminal*, and the religion or principles we profess, have been condemned, and represented to the world as heresy and blasphemy; an usage so unjust, that doubtless, according to *Lex Talionis*, our adversaries would think it intolerable to be so treated by us.

But as we desire not to render evil for evil, our *Great Bishop* having taught us another lesson, and better practices, so we desire God Almighty to forgive our causeless enemies, for his Son's sake, as we most freely and heartily forgive them: believing some may be zealously affected for their educational form of religion, and as zealous against *us* for our separation; and we are the more inclined to judge so, because many of us were once in the *same way*, and had such thoughts of those that were gone before us. But it hath pleased the Father of mercies to do by many of us as he did by *Saul*, that *zealous*, though *mistaken*, persecutor of the sincere followers of Jesus Christ, Acts ix. 3, 4, 5, 6. For as we heard an unusual *inward*, but *powerful* voice, so we also had a more inward, clear, and distinguishing *fight*, by the illumination of that *light* which was more than *natural*, and shined into our dark and sinful hearts, 2 Cor. iv. 6, 7. letting us see them, as they *really* were in God's sight; which naturally affected us with *deep sorrow*, and *true humiliation*, making us willing to be any thing he would have us be, provided we might have *some sense*
of

of his love and favour towards us. And blessed be his holy and excellent name, we can, without vanity, say, (generally speaking) we were not disobedient to that heavenly vision, (Acts xxvi. 19.) we had of him, ourselves, the world, and that profession of religion, where we had our education. And since by that sight God gave us, we saw he was pure and holy, and that without holiness none ever could, or can see him, to their joy, and that we were unfit to approach his holy altar; yea, that the whole world lay in wickedness; and that profession of religion, where we had our education, was so far from having the power of godliness, that, for the most part, it wanted the right form; from such, therefore, we had a divine authority to "turn away," 2 Tim. iii. 5. which we did, not in a vaunting mind, but with great sorrow; wanting to know where the Great Shepherd of the sheep fed his flock, Cant. i. 7. For we desired to be not of those that "turned aside from the foot-steps of the flocks of the companions." Nor was it affectation to popularity, singularity, or novelty, that induced us to a separation; but a fervent desire to know the Lord, and the work of his translating power upon our souls, being in earnest for heaven, though for it we lost all our earthly enjoyments, Heb. xi. 14, 15, 16.

In this *solitary* and *seeking* state, it pleased the Lord to meet with us, and gather us into *families*, or *religious societies*, according to Psalm lviii. 6. And though it hath been a *dear* separation to us, considering it cost us the loss, at least, of *all* things, and the great sufferings and afflictions that have attended us in this despised way, which men have called *heresy*; yet the Lord hath blessed us in it, with the enjoyment of his blessed presence, to our unspeakable joy and comfort.

To conclude; as it hath pleased the Lord to bless us, in the way we have hitherto been helped to walk in, with that great blessing which ushered in the birth of our blessed Lord into the world, viz. "Glory to God, peace on earth, and good-will to men;" so

we

we earnestly desire the same upon all our neighbours: for though we may not be all of *one mind* in some *doctrinal* parts of religion, we must, of necessity, be all of *one sentiment* in the great and general duty of *holiness*, or else we can never see God. And if that is our principal aim and endeavour, we shall less fall out by the way, about *words, forms*, and the *outside* of things: but *universal charity*, (which is the *most* excellent way, and without which the best of *creeds* is but as a sounding brass, &c.) will silence controversy, and blot out all ignominious characters; remembering that the Great Judge, at the last day, will determine us, not according to our *names*, but *natures*; not our *profession*, but our *lives*; not our *bare belief*, (though of unquestionable *truths*) but *works*; for “ God will bring every work to judgment, with every “ secret thing, whether it be good or evil,” Ecclef. xii. 14.

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A
D E F E N C E
O F
A P A P E R,
I N T I T L E D
G O S P E L T R U T H S,
A G A I N S T
The Exceptions of the Bishop of CORK's
Testimony.

By WILLIAM PENN.

Published in the Year 1698.



THE
P R E F A C E.

READER,

IT was the wise counsel of an ancient and grave prelate of the kingdom of Ireland, at a late visit I made him there, to discourage controversy, and endeavour to abate strife among Christians: ‘For,’ said he, ‘heaven is a quiet place; there are no quarrels there, and religion is an holy and peaceable thing, and excites to piety and charity, and not to genealogies, strife, and debates.’ But the bishop of Cork seems to be of another mind, that could not pass by so inoffensive a paper, as that, stiled, “Gospel Truths,” (given him by me, in a private way, at a friendly visit upon his own desire) without his publick animadversions; and those expressed not with so much justice and charity, as might have been expected from him to his dissenting neighbours.

I am, I confess, very sorry my Christian visits to the bishop have met with no better returns than controversy: but because that is his, and not my fault, it shall be my satisfaction.

I did, indeed, perceiving him conversant in our writings, and his character to be moderation, casually present him with one of those papers; but as the nature of it is far from provocation, so my design in it was purely to improve his temper, and not to excite his contradiction. Nor was it writ for an ‘exact and complete account of our belief,’ but occasionally to prevent the prejudices that the attempts of a coarse and scurrilous pen at Dublin, just before, might provoke in some against us, as to the points touched upon in the “Gospel Truths.” And though we have been so unhappy as to be therein mistaken by the bishop, yet it is some comfort to us, that our ‘Christian declaration’

P R E F A C E.

hath had quite another reception with the generality of those to whose hands it has come: and I heartily wish *that* hath not been the most prevailing motive to his undertaking. However, since he has been pleased to fault it both with shortness and error, the first of which we thought healing, at least inoffensive, I esteem myself answerable for it, and shall, with God's assistance, defend it against the force of his exceptions, and, I hope, with clearness and temper: for though I may be plain, as he must expect, I desire to be neither rude nor bitter.

I ask, reader, but the common justice due to all authors, especially in controverted points of religion, to wit, attention and impartiality; and then judge whether our pacifick paper deserved so sharp a censure, and the manner of its being given him, so publick a return: though I hope the consequence will be good. To Almighty God I leave the success, and am, in all Christian obligation,

Thy real friend,

Bristol, the 23d of the
7th month, 1698.

WILLIAM PENN.

A DEFENCE OF A PAPER, &c. 355

[*The PAPER* was as follows.]

Sober Reader,

IF thou hadst rather we should be in the right than in the wrong; and if thou thinkest it but a reasonable thing that we should be heard before we are condemned, and that our belief ought to be taken from our *own* mouths, and not at theirs that have prejudged our cause; then we entreat thee to read and weigh the following brief account of those things that are chiefly received and professed among us, the people called Quakers, according to the testimony of the scriptures of truth, and the illumination of the Holy Ghost, which are the double and agreeing record of true religion: published to inform the moderate enquirer, and reclaim the prejudiced to a better temper; which God grant, to his glory, and their peace.

I. It is our belief, That GOD is, and that he is a rewarder of all them that fear him, with eternal rewards of happiness; and that those that fear him not, shall be turned into hell, Heb. xi. 16. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Psalm ix. 17.

II. That there are three that bear record in heaven; the Father, the Word, and the Spirit; and these three are really one, 1 John v. 7.

III. That the word was made flesh, and dwelt among men, and was, and is, the only-begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth, his beloved Son, in whom he is well-pleas'd, and whom we are to hear in all things; who tasted death for every man, and died for sin, that we might die to sin, and by his power and Spirit be raised up to newness of life here, and to glory hereafter, John i. 14. Mat. iii. 17. Heb. ii. 9.

IV. That as we are only justified from the guilt of sin, by Christ, the propitiation, and not by works of righteousness that we have done; so there is an absolute necessity that we receive and obey, to unfeigned repentance, and amendment of life, the holy Light and Spirit of Jesus Christ, in order to obtain that remission and justification from sin: since no man can be justified by Christ, who walks not after the Spirit, but after the flesh; for whom he sanctifies, them he also justifies: and if we walk in the light, as he is light, his precious blood cleanseth us from all sin; as well from the pollution as guilt of sin, Rom. iii. 22 to 26. chap. viii. 1, 2, 3, 4. 1 John v. 7.

V. That Christ is the great light of the world, that lighteth every man that cometh into the world, and is full of grace and truth, and giveth to all light for light, and grace for grace; and by his light and grace he inwardly appears to man, and teaches such as will be taught by him, That denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, they should live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world, John viii. 12. chap. i. 9, 14. Tit. ii. 11, 12.

VI. That this principle of light and grace, which is God's gift, through Christ, to man, is that which shews us our sins, reproves us for them, and would lead all out of them, that obey it, to serve God, in fear and love, all their days. And they that turn not at the reproofs thereof, and will not repent, and live, and walk according to it, shall die in their sins; and where Christ is gone, they shall never come; who is undefiled, and separated from sinners, Eph. v. 13. John xvi. 7. Prov. i. 20 to 24. John viii. 24.

VII. This is that principle by which God prepares the heart to worship him aright; and all the duties of religion, as praying, praising, and preaching, ought to be performed throughout the sanctifying power and assistance of it; other worship being but formal and will-worship,

worship, with which we cannot, in conscience, join, nor can we maintain or uphold it, Rom. viii. 26. 1 Pet. iv. 10, 11.

VIII. Worship, in this gospel-day, is inward and spiritual: for God is a Spirit, as Christ teacheth, and he will now be worshipped in Spirit and in truth, being most suitable to his divine nature. Wherefore we wait in our assemblies to feel God's Spirit to open and move upon our hearts, before we dare offer sacrifice to the Lord, or preach to others the way of his kingdom: that we may preach in power as well as words, and as God promised, and Christ ordained, without money, and without price, John iv. 23, 24. 1 Thes. i. 5. Isa. lv. 1. Rev. xxii. 17. Mat. x. 8.

IX. This also leads us to deny all the vain customs and fashions of the world, to avoid excess in all things, that our moderation may be seen of all men, because the Lord is at hand to see and judge us, according to our deeds, Tit. ii. 12. Rom. xii. 2. Phil. iv. 5. Eccl. xii. 14. Mat. xvi. 27. Rom. ii. 6. Rev. xx. 12.

X. We believe the necessity of the one baptism of Christ, as well as of his one supper, which he promiseth to eat with those that open the door of their hearts to him, being the baptism and supper signified by the outward signs; which, though we refuse, we judge not those that conscientiously practise them, Mat. iii. 11. Eph. iv. 1. 1 Pet. iii. 21, 22. John vi. Rev. iii. 20.

XI. We honour government; for we believe it is an ordinance of God; and that we ought in all things to submit, by doing or suffering; but esteem it a great blessing, where the administration is a terror to evil-doers, and a praise to them that do well, Rom. xiii. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

This hath all along been the general stream and tendency both of our ministry and writings, as our

books will make appear, notwithstanding what ill-minded and prejudiced persons may have strained to misrepresent us, and our Christian profession.

Dublin, the 4th of the
3d month, 1698.

WILLIAM PENN,
ANTHONY SHARP,
THOMAS STORY,
GEORGE ROOK.

The TESTIMONY of the Bishop of *Cork*, as to a Paper, intituled, "GOSPEL TRUTHS, held; &c. by the people called QUAKERS," and delivered to him by an eminent member of them.

FRIENDS,

I AM such a reader as in your paper you desire. I have read, and soberly weighed, the account you give of those things, which, you say, are chiefly received and professed amongst you. And I will exercise so much moderation and charity, as to lay a great weight on that word [*chiefly*] hoping these are not the *only* things, or *all* that you believe. I should have been heartily glad to have found that you had been in the truth, as I am well assured I myself am: but, as I professed, when the paper was given me, 'That if I took it, you must expect I should bear my testimony touching it, or against it;' so I must now tell you, I think myself bound in conscience to perform what I then professed; and that upon more reasons than I will now trouble the world with. You must not be offended if I say, You have such a way of writing and speaking, that it is very hard, in many matters of religion, to know what you mean. But, as far as I understand you, I will candidly acknowledge what truths you have sufficiently or tolerably expressed; I will shew you with meekness, how far your faith, if this be your faith, comes short of being sufficient, or Christian; and I will

will sincerely tell you what I apprehend to be the cause of your delusion, and how dangerous a condition I really fear, nay, believe, you to be in.

And first, The only articles in which you have expressed a sufficient Christian belief, are your sixth, which is, touching justification, and your last touching government, and your submission thereto. I wish you may always stick to this belief and practice; and I heartily rejoice to find you acknowledging the necessity of Christ, as a propitiation, in order to remission of sins, and justifying you, as sinners, from guilt. It is the first time I have heard of it amongst you.

As to all the rest of your articles, I mean those which I understand, I must tell you, the declaration of your faith comes so short of what is required from people to denominate them Christians, that except, under each article, you believe more than you have declared, you cannot be accounted Christians. For first, in those articles of faith which you have thought fit to mention, you have set down only some little ends, I had almost called them snaps of the article. And, secondly, Many more whole articles of the true Christian faith, and which are of no less import, you have entirely omitted, waved, or suppressed.

You acknowledge in your first article, there is a God, and you own his providence as to the other life. But that he made heaven and earth, that he is the Almighty, and at present, by his sovereign power, most wisely and holily governs, orders, and sustains all (by his mercies, as well as judgments, even in this world, not leaving himself without witness) you say not a word. Creation in the beginning, and providence as to this world at present, are not here acknowledged by you. We hope you believe both.

Your second article is wholly true; for it is express scripture, 1 John v. 7. But it is only what the apostle there had occasion to say, and what was to his purpose, touching the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit; far from being the sum of what the holy scripture teaches of

them; and therefore is not a sufficient confession of faith on that head.

In your third article, you acknowledge, indeed, the Son of God to have been made flesh, but neither conceived by the Holy Ghost, nor born of the virgin Mary; so that it does not appear, by this your confession, but that he was at first an ordinary, corrupt, sinful person: nay, you own him not so much as Jesus, or the Christ (the great Saviour, who delivereth from the wrath which is to come; or the great prophet, priest, lord, and king of his church): you acknowledge him, indeed, to have died for sin, but (not to mention the articles inferable from, and relating to, the circumstances of his death) you have not one word of his resurrection from the dead, or of his ascension into heaven; which, it may be proved, some of you have expressly denied, saying, 'He is not ascended into heaven; he is 'in us:' nor, again, of his sitting now on the right-hand of the Majesty on high. And so you seem not to own any thing of his mediation, intercession, or appearing now in heaven for us. Nor farther, have you said a word of his coming again to judgment, at the end of the world. Thus, indeed, you have here neither owned the creation, or dissolution, of the world; so that it does not appear, by this account of your faith, whether you do not judge it eternal, and so otherwise infinite. Yet again, not a word of one church, which it may be feared you strike out of your belief, because you are resolved never more to return into the unity of the church, but to make and maintain a schism, or party, for ever. Nor farther, have you a word of the resurrection of the dead, which divers of you have been known to deny, and others of you only say, 'It may be so.' And lastly, though you acknowledge everlasting rewards for them that fear God, yet nothing of the everlasting punishment of wicked men. You mention hell, indeed (in a very unnatural place, viz. in your first article of the being of God); but whether you mean thereby the grave, as most commonly in scripture is meant; or, a place of temporal punishment after this life, as some have

have done; or, a state of total destruction and annihilation, as many now a-days do, no one knows.

Upon the whole: as to the sum of the Christian faith, which you have been pleased to set down, there is not one article of our common twelve, that you have owned entirely; and eight at least, if not more of them, that you have here totally suppressed, or waved. And how influential to an holy life those which you have waved are, and therefore how necessary to salvation, I must require and conjure you, on your own eternal account, to consider. I will only mind you of two passages out of the scriptures of truth, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 17. "If the dead rise not, (that is, if there be no resurrection of the flesh, then is not Christ raised. And if Christ is not raised, your faith is vain, you are yet in your sins." Hence it appears all other points of faith are in vain, if this be not true. The other is, Rom. x. 9. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thy heart that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." This article alone is of such force and influence on mens hearts, that if believed as it should be, such belief will save men. But both Christ's resurrection, and our own, are by you, in this paper, left out of your faith. I judge you not, but judge yourselves, lest you be condemned of the Lord.

Your fifth, sixth, and eighth articles, treat of what you call, 'The light of Christ within man:' this you have never been able yet, that I could find, to make out what you mean by. For you will not allow it to be either the natural, rational faculty, or common innate notions, or natural conscience, or conscience illuminated, by the preaching of the gospel, and the operation of the Holy Ghost thereby: until you can make us understand your meaning, or indeed till you understand it yourselves, (that is, till you are less confused in this, the very fundamental principle or rule of what you profess) you must not think of declaring (or publishing) an account of your faith: see you understand it first. There are some men who have a faculty to speak things

things seemingly profound, but, in the end, neither themselves, nor others, can make any distinct sense of what they have said: this we usually call banter. And I must acknowledge, as far as I can see, your discourse of this light within is perfectly such. Take notice, we, in our preaching, require people to *look within*, as much as you do: we strictly charge all to walk according to the convictions and light they have received. We daily appeal unto conscience: but then we teach, that conscience (opened by the Holy Spirit, under the ministry of the word, Acts xvi. 14.) does, and must, take in its light from holy scripture; "The commandment of the Lord is pure, enlightening the eyes," Psalm xix. 8. (viz. *of the mind*, Ephes. i. 18.) "Thy word is as a lamp to my feet, and a light to my paths," Psalm cxix. cv. "To the law and to the testimony; if they" (even men in their consciences) "speak not according to this word, it is because there is no light in them," Isa. viii. 20. Now these things are intelligible. This rule is fixed and certain, nothing of which can be said of your light within.

In your eighth article you tell us, 'worship under the gospel is inward and spiritual.' If you mean hereby, that all outward and bodily worship ought to be accompanied with an inward and spiritual worship, it is what we daily preach and practise, and even in private press. But if, as it would seem, you mean all the worship God now requires is from the inward man, or from the Spirit, this is abominably false: for our bodies are God's handy-work, and Christ's purchase, as well as our souls: on which reason, God, by his apostle, commands, "Glorify God in your body and in your spirit, " [*ἀρνα*] which (in the plural number, that is, *both which*) are God's." Not to tell you, that you yourselves, now-a-days, perform somewhat of bodily worship. And indeed, if there be not a worship of the body, as well as of the spirit, there can be no publick worship. This article, therefore, must also be mended, to make it Christian.

In your ninth article, you tell us of your ‘denying all the vain customs and fashions of the world, as also excess in all things.’ I know no sort of Christians who teach otherwise; I wish I could say, I knew none (even of ourselves) that practise otherwise. It is one part of the catechism we teach our children, to *renounce all these*. But there are many *innocent* and *laudable* customs which you call *vain*. Would it not almost make a man’s stomach turn to hear one forbear, in point of conscience, saying *you* to a single person, because it is improper; and at the same time, while he is speaking to his superior, because *thou dost* sounds a little rudely, to soften the *thou*; and say *thee dost*, which is commonly your people’s practice, and much more improper. Will you ever be able to prove the primitive Christians used a dialect or dress different from others of their nation and qualities, and placed religion in it? Does not Christ require saluting even those who salute not us? And no doubt his and his apostles salutations were in the common form. In a word, there is more vanity in singularity and affectation, than in a moderate following a common innocent phrase, garb, or custom.

In your tenth article you believe (you say) ‘a spiritual baptism, and a spiritual supper, and communion;’ but acknowledge you ‘disuse the outward signs,’ by us, commonly called sacraments: now did not Christ command *water*-baptism? “Go ye and baptize all nations,” Mat. xxviii. 19, 20. The baptism here commanded, was *water*-baptism: for baptizing with the Spirit was GOD’s work, not the apostles: and though the baptism of the Spirit commonly accompanied baptism with water, yet not always, as in the case of Simon Magus, and many others. Yet did not Christ promise “to be with them (preaching to all nations, and baptizing) to the end of the world?” Farther, Did not the apostles, in obedience to Christ’s command, both constantly practise, and also require, *water*-baptism to all initiated Christians? “Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?” And he [Peter] com-

commanded they should be baptized: Acts x. 47, 48. Then as to the outward use of bread and wine for the Lord's supper, can any command be more express than, "This do in remembrance of me?" Four times repeated in the New (which you call the better) Testament. To which St. Paul adds, "It is a shewing forth the Lord's death until he come," 1 Cor. xi. 26. Now if Christ and his apostles have commanded this, who hath authorized you to disuse it? Remember what St. Paul tells the Corinthians, "he received from the Lord that which *on this subject* he delivered to them," 1 Cor. xi. 23. And it is a severe passage in another epistle of his, Gal. i. 8. "If we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you, than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed." That which lays aside so much of the gospel, and sets up a new and variable rule of faith, (we know not what light within) is another and new gospel.

To draw towards a conclusion: I have written this short paper in much and true compassion to you: it had been far easier to me to have said more, than thus to have confined myself: I look upon many of you as an harmless, well-meaning people, but under strong delusions,

This your deluded state proceeds from your making what you call the light within you (which is, in many cases, nothing but your own presumptive persuasion or fancy) a rule of faith and practice, co-ordinate, if not superior and antecedent, to the holy scriptures: these words in your paper ['which are the double and 'agreeing record of true religion'] intimate at least thus much, that you will not believe what scripture saith, except the light within you dictate the same, and so make a double record. Now, my friends, do not flatter yourselves, "GOD is not mocked;" you must answer at the dreadful day of judgment, amongst other points, to such as these; and therefore examine your consciences before-hand,

1. Is it not your main end and study, by pretended mortifications, and renouncing the world, (while there are no sort of men alive that more eagerly pursue it, nor have more effectual, wily, and secret ways of getting wealth than yourselves) Is it not, I say, your main aim and end to make yourselves a party considerable; and such to which, for reasons of state, peculiar privileges must be indulged?

2. Are not, to this purpose, many of your distinctive characters, such as your different garb, (for it is plain, not a few of your people's clothes, as to materials, are more costly than many of ours) your way of speaking, yea, even your looks and gestures, assumed rather to make yourselves remarkable, and at first sight known from other people, than out of any persuasion, sense of duty, or conscience of obligation?

3. What reasonable or tolerable warrant can you plead for waving, suppressing, at least not confessing, much the greater part of the Christian faith, and rejecting all outward positive parts of worship (especially baptism and the Lord's supper) which have such plain and repeated evidences in holy scripture. Your light within, (or sense and persuasion which you say you have, and are sure is from Christ) forasmuch as, in the present cases, it dictateth against holy scripture, can never be proved even to yourselves, much less to others, to be from Christ: but must rather, in all reason, be resolved to be one of the heights or depths of satan transforming himself into an angel of light. And for any persons to yield to such conduct, (besides or against holy scripture) is plainly to abandon themselves to the delusions of the devil.

In a word, therefore, I again require you, as you will answer all your secret arts and high pretences at Christ's tribunal, that you either embrace and profess intire Christian faith, in the points wherein I have shewn you to be defective; and that you receive the Christian seals or badges, baptism and the Lord's-supper; or else that you desist to lay claim to the name of Christians.

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It is not for me to judge you; but again I say unto you, (truly from God, as his minister) judge yourselves. This is the case. If men who take away, even from the "faith once delivered to the saints," at least two thirds, besides many main points of the other third; who equal their own presumptuous conceits to the divine oracles and revelations; who use and disuse at pleasure, what parts of God's instituted worship they think fit, even the very badges of Christianity (I will not here interpose your making gain your godliness;) but if the aforesaid men are in a way of perdition, what can you conclude of yourselves? In the name of God repent and return: and from my soul I pray, that God will please to give you repentance.

Cork, July the
2d 1698.

EDWARD CORK *and* ROSS.

A D E-

A
D E F E N C E
O F A
P A P E R,
INTITULED
G O S P E L T R U T H S.

Published in the Year 1698.

I HAVE given the bishop's exceptions together at large, as he did our paper, and shall now consider their validity.

He is pleased to say at the beginning of his first paragraph, ' He is such a reader as in our paper we ' desire : ' words that gave me great hopes, of not only fair, but friendly dealing; and I heartily wish it had been so: but since it seems to me the reverse of his promise, he must not take it ill from me, if I stop a while, and shew him a little to himself, and how much he is mistaken in his own temper, as well as in our principles. For though he begins with the names of *moderation, charity, and meekness*, that is all: he quickly loses sight of them, and forgets them, with himself, almost all the way. And unless my taste be extremely depraved, there is little relish of those virtues in his management, or a tolerable temper shewn towards us, respecting either our belief or practice. We desired *such a reader*, indeed, as had rather we were in
the

the *right* than in the *wrong*; one that did not *prejudge* our case, and would give *us* (and not our *enemies*) the *wording* of our own belief: while the bishop but too plainly shews, he would not have us in the right, even where he dares not say (however freely he suggests it) that we are in the wrong. Which appears,

First, By his *unnecessary* exceptions to such truths as we have declared in our paper (and he cannot deny) as *imperfectly* expressed, because we have not said all that *might* be said, to branch them out, or illustrate them; though enough to be understood by such as are not captious.

Secondly, By *suppositions incongruous*, and that can have no other service than to *expose* us, and that in a very ill manner.

Thirdly, By rendering us to *deny*, what we do not *express* in our paper: though indeed we *believe* it.

Fourthly, In not taking due notice of what is *implied*, as well as expressed: which had been but just.

Fifthly, In making the *worst* of what is not concurrent with his belief; and not the best, where we believe the same thing.

Sixthly, By grossly misrendering our pretences to *strict living*.

Lastly, By condemning us upon *rumour*. All which is more than leaning to *that side* that had rather we were in the *wrong*, than in the right; and consequently not *such* a reader as we desired. That this is so, let it but be observed, how he *unchristians* us in his third paragraph; though immediately in a contradiction to what he just before acknowledges in his second. Nor will he allow us to be so much as *Deists* in his fourth, or at most but very imperfect ones, because we have not said all of God that may be ascribed to him. In his sixth, he supposes us capable of believing that Christ came of *corrupt* and *sinful flesh*, because we say no more, in that place, of the *manner* of his *incarnation*, than the *evangelist* doth, John i. 14. Also, that we are *defective*, at best *ambiguous*, about *eternal*

eternal rewards and punishments. He makes us, in his seventh paragraph, to *deny* the resurrection of the dead at large, and without *distinction*, though we there acknowledge a *future state*, which implies it; and have not said one word against it; but upon all occasions, in print, or otherwise, have expressed our belief of that branch of Christian doctrine, according to *scripture*. In his tenth, he derides our plain (though proper) language, of *thou to a single person*, though it is what he himself gives to *God* in his prayers. In his fourteenth and fifteenth, he is pleased to slight, and render our stricter living a *trick* to promote a *party*, and that our garb, looks, and gestures, are more to make ourselves *remarkable*, than out of any persuasion of *duty*, or *conscience*: as bad a construction as he could make. In his sixteenth, he tells us, ‘The light within us, that we say we have from Christ, *is rather* one of the heights or depths of Satan transformed, and that we are abandoned to his delusions.’ So that we, and most of our principles too, are stark naught with the bishop. In his eighteenth and last paragraph, he suggests, ‘We take away two thirds of the Christian faith, besides many points of the other third; and equal our presumptuous conceits to the divine oracles, and revelations, and use, and disuse, at pleasure, what part of God’s instituted worship we think fit; even the very *badges* of Christianity. I will not,’ says the bishop, ‘interpose (yet *suggests* it) your making *gain* your godliness: but if the aforesaid men are in a way to perdition, what can you conclude of yourselves? In the name of God repent and return.’ Thus the bishop, upon a whole people, without any other provocation than has been expressed.

I hope, after this, he will not expect (I am sure he ought not) that any body should think him *such a reader* as we desired for our gospel-truths, and which he promised us to be; or that he has treated us with the *moderation*, *charity*, and *meekness*, he made us hope for; since none of our adversaries have used us much worse, in so little a compass. I heartily wish him a

better sight of himself, as well as of us, that he may be less mistaken in both another time; for I have a respect for him, and desire not to be upon these terms with him, any longer than he thinks fit to make it necessary.

The rest of his first paragraph is only a strain of fair and pastoral promises, forgotten by him, and not to be remembered any more, at this time by me; and therefore I shall proceed to his second. Only observe this one thing to my reader, and the bishop too, that he is pleased to place *moderation* and *charity* to our account, because he does not take us by our word *chiefly* to mean ONLY OR ALL, in reference to the things by us believed: which, under favour, he could not do in justice; and therefore he needs not bring us in debtor for that which is our due, since nobody ever took *chiefly* for *only*, any more than an *eldest* for an *only* son, or an *arch* for an *only* bishop. Nor does *chiefly* imply *all*, any more than *only*; for whether it regards things human or divine, it imports the *best part* of any thing, but not *all*; the *most valuable*, that which deserves and commands our regard and esteem in the *first* place. And I leave it with my reader, Whether believing in *God*, and *Christ*, and the *Holy Spirit*; and believing the *scriptures*, and the *necessity* of *holiness*, and *divine worship*, and finally of *eternal rewards* and *punishments*, are not points of faith *chiefly* to be received and professed by Christians? And if they are such, the bishop must have been superfinely critical upon our word *chiefly*, as well as that he might have been a better husband of his *moderation* and *charity*, and have kept them for an occasion where they might have been more needed, and consequently better bestowed.

His second paragraph allows us to have sufficiently expressed our Christian belief in two articles, but with this censure, 'that of eleven, we are only clear in these two, viz. justification by Christ, and submission to the civil government; wishing we may always stick to this belief, and practice;' and adds, 'I heartily rejoice to find you acknowledge the necessity of Christ, as a propitiation, in order to the remission of sins, and

and justifying you, as sinners, from guilt. It is the first time I have heard of it among you.'

If so, it is the bishop's fault, and seems to me next to impossible; since before that paper was given him, he was pleased to acknowledge he had read several of our books; particularly my "Rise and Progress of the People called Quakers," taking it out of his pocket at that time; also "Robert Barclay's apology," which states, and vindicates our principles at large, in which the two doctrines afore-mentioned are very clearly declared, and maintained, notwithstanding he seems to make this look like a *new discovery*. But, however, I am pleased that the bishop is so, at *two* of the gospel truths: I am of opinion, if he had well considered the force and comprehensiveness of our belief concerning Christ, that pleases him so well, he might have saved himself the trouble of what he has published to the world upon the *rest* of them: for whoever believes in Christ, as a *propitiation*, in order to *remission* of *sins*, and *justification* of sinners from the *guilt* of sin, can hardly disbelieve any *fundamental* article of the Christian religion; since every such person must necessarily believe in *God*, because it is with him alone man is to be justified. To be sure he must believe in *Christ*, for that is the very proposition. He must also believe in the *Holy Ghost*, because he is the author of his conviction, repentance, and belief. He must believe *heaven*, and *hell*, *rewards*, and *punishment*, and consequently the *resurrection* of the *just* and *unjust*: for why should he be concerned about being freed from the guilt of his sin, if he were unaccountable in another world? So that acknowledging the necessity of Christ, as a *propitiation*, in order to the remission of sin, comprehends the main doctrine of the Christian religion; and as so many lines drawn from the circumference to the center, they all meet and center in *Christ*: and indeed it is as the *navel* of Christianity, and characteristick of that religion. I would intreat him again, to reflect well upon his own acknowledgment and commendation of our belief, concerning the *end* and *benefit* of Christ to mankind; and

he cannot think us so deficient, much less under such strong and dangerous delusions, as he has been pleased to represent us.

His third paragraph will not suffer us to be Christians, notwithstanding what we have said of our belief in Christ, in our paper called "Gospel-Truths." In one sense I shall easily agree with him, for I think nothing makes any man a *true* Christian, but *regeneration*, the power of the Son of God revealed in the soul, converting it to God: for the *devils* believe, and tremble too, and yet are devils *still*; they believe what is *true*, but they do not *truly believe* in *Him* that is *true*; they know and assent to the propositions of truth, or articles of faith; and knew *Him* to be *Christ* too, when he came of old, and called him by his *name*; but this did not make true Christians *then* of them: nor yet does an *assent now*, to all the truths of the gospel, *truly qualify* men Christians, unless they feel the *power* of them upon their *hearts*. And I would have my reader reflect well upon this great and essential truth, though he were as big as a bishop: for a *new creature* is the business; an *orthodox life*, the *cross* of Christ, which is the *narrow way* of *self-denial*. Yet I must say, that whoever declares he believes in Christ as his *Sacrifice* and *Sanctifier*, which is to save both from the guilt and pollution of sin, is a *professor* of *Christianity*, and may reasonably be allowed to be a *Christian at large*. And that what we have declared, in our third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Gospel-Truth, comprehends the belief before-mentioned, my just and sober reader may satisfy himself in the perusal thereof.

His fourth paragraph faults our first article, as he is pleased to call it, with great 'Shortness and imperfection concerning our belief of God;' for though ' (he says) we own his providence as to the other life, yet we say nothing as to the creation of this present world, and providence over it: ' but, with the bishop's leave, he that believes in *God*, believes in all that is necessary to a Supreme Being. It is what he, and all Christians, take for granted, and allow, as of-

ten as they hear any one say, *He believes in God*. For not to believe him omnipotent, omniscient, and omnipresent, is not to believe him to be *God*, these being inseparable from the divine nature. I must appeal to the bishop, whether a small grain of charity would not have excused us from his reflection upon this head. We have said *more* than *Moses* said to *Pharoab*: for besides that, *I am*, is no more than *He is*; we have added that *He is the Rewarder of all men, according to their works*. We gave the text as it is, and the very text seems expressed for a declaration of faith in God, viz. "He, that will come to God, must believe that " he is, and that he is a Rewarder of them that seek " him." The text does not enumerate and require the belief of *all* the divine attributes and properties that are in God, but the bare belief of his *being*, and what he is to mankind that fear him. And whatever the bishop says, this is enough for a man to come to God, though not enough, it seems, to come to the bishop in the quality of a believer: he must help the Holy Ghost to speak properly, or we, that speak after him, must be *deficient* in our expressions, if not in our belief. But when any one affirms, that man was created by God, is he short, fallacious, or equivocal, because he does not say *how* God made man, or *what* he made him? Is not his *body*, *soul*, and *spirit*, his *will*, *understanding*, *memory*, and *affections* comprized, and meant, under that word *man*? Besides, could the bishop think, that while we own God's greater providence, his lesser could be disbelieved by us? He that has the alone power of *rewarding* men in the other world, according to their works in this, must certainly be the *Sovereign* of *both*; and his providence, in justice, is to be so understood. And as it is most certain that we believe of God all that the holy scriptures declare of him, and whatsoever is proper to that great and glorious Being; so, had we not thought it unnecessary to be more particular, from the common notion all men have of the Deity, the bishop could have had no room left for the exercise of his charity.

In his fifth paragraph, he blames us for being defective in our confession of the *Holy Trinity*; though we give it in the very terms of the Holy Ghost, 1 John v. 7. If this is not a sufficient text to prove the Trinity, that *antiquity* urges, and also *modern* writers of the church of *England*, to prove it, I know not where to find one, in the scripture.

It is generally believed the apostle John gave this declaration to the first Christians, to prevent their being deluded by *Cerintus*. How came the bishop then to render it but a *by-passage*, and otherwise intended by the apostle, than for an *article of faith* about the *Trinity*? Is there a plainer, or a fuller, any where in the writings of the New Testament? *Three*, and yet *One*, is the doctrine of the Trinity: and no other apostle has gone so far, or been so express: infomuch that the text has been doubted, and rendered *apocryphal*, by such as do not believe the common doctrine of the Trinity; and soisted in to serve the turn of *Trinitarians*: so plain it has been thought to their purpose, even by the *Anti-Trinitarians*. How then is the text defective with the bishop? But he says, 'The apostle writ it *upon occasion*:' doubtless he did so. But what other occasion, I pray, than that of the *Holy Trinity*? He adds, 'And it was to the apostle's purpose, touching the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost:' but what purpose could the apostle have, but that of declaring the *Trinity*, and yet *Unity*? What other use does he make of it? The bishop must be very hard put to it, certainly, to shift off, and lessen our confession in this point, and, rather than fail, render the text itself short; which, with submission, I think is a bold attempt in one of his station, if he believes the thirty-nine articles.

The next and sixth paragraph, relating to our third Gospel-Truth, is large, and consists of divers branches, and therefore I shall consider them distinctly and apart, 'In the third article, you acknowledge indeed the Son of God to have been made flesh, but neither conceived by the Holy Ghost, nor born of the virgin Mary;

‘ Mary : so that it does not appear, by this your confession, but that he was at first, an ordinary, corrupt, and sinful person.’ I think it is hardly to be supposed that we could intend so gross a thing, or that it is inferrable from the manner of our expressing of ourselves, in reference to Christ’s manifestation in the flesh. Where enough is said, to comprehend the rest, all is *meant*, though all be not *expressed*: we call him the “ Beloved Son of God, the Only Begotten “ of the Father:” pray what is that short of being *conceived by the Holy Ghost*? To be sure, it is very far from a *corrupt* and *sinful* person, a supposition as remote from what we said, as from what the bishop promised, viz. *charity*. He that confesses, “ The Word “ was made *flesh*,” confesses him made flesh by *God*; and therefore made *holy* flesh: for God never made any *corrupt* or *sinful* flesh. If the place is read, as some do, viz. “ The Word *took* flesh,” the flesh must be *holy*, for he would not take, or dwell in, *sinful* flesh.

And had the bishop well remembered what he acknowledged, upon our believing Christ to be a propitiation for sin, not many lines before, he could never have suggested so unreasonable, as well as uncharitable a conceit; since *sinful* flesh, or a *corrupt person*, could never be any part of a *sacrifice* for sin: so that in commending that part of our belief, he has sufficiently secured us against this part of his insinuation.

But the bishop proceeds to aggravate our shortness in expression, to a severe imputation, viz. ‘ That we own him not so much as *Jesus*, or the *Christ*.’

This must be a great oversight of the bishop, not to say worse, when the very fourth head, about “ Justification by Christ,” of which he declares himself so well satisfied, *thrice* confesses him to be *Christ*, viz. in the first, third, and fourth lines. Again, we call him *Christ*, in the first line of the fifth Gospel-Truth; likewise in the first and fourth lines of the sixth, we call him *Christ*: we do the same, in the first and fifth lines of the eighth, and in the first line of our tenth Gospel-Truth. How the bishop came to miss in so

palpable a point of fact, in the compass of one half side of a sheet of paper, I cannot imagine, and am unwilling to censure. Nor would I willingly think the bishop so trifling, as well as disingenuous, as to excuse himself herein, because we do not call the Word, that took flesh, by the name of *Christ*, in *that* place; since the bishop repeats it from us, out of our aforesaid fourth head, about "Justification by Christ," where we call him by the name of *Christ*, as may be seen in the second and foregoing paragraph of his reflections. Besides, we have not confessed his name less than *nine times* in that paper. But if the bishop could yet insist upon the word *Christ* not being in our third head, I say the *thing* is there, though the *word* be not. For what is Christ, but the "Word made flesh?" And who is the Word made flesh, but *Jesus Christ*? Again, who is the "Beloved Son of God, and Only Begotten of the Father, full of grace, and full of truth?" For these high and distinguishing characters are to be found in that very head of doctrine, where the bishop will not have us to acknowledge him to be Christ. So that unless a corrupt and sinful person can be full of *grace* and *truth*, I wonder how the bishop came to suppose a thing, in our name, so very gross.

But he proceeds in the same paragraph, ' You acknowledge indeed he died for sin, but you have not one word of his resurrection from the dead, or of his ascension into heaven, which it may be proved some of you have expressly denied, saying, ' He is not ascended into heaven, He is in us;' with more to this effect. I should be sorry to tax the bishop here of absurdity and uncharitableness; but who can help it? For if Christ be not risen, he is still in his *grave*; he is no more. How, then, do we assert him to be a *propitiation*, and the *light* and *life* of his people? See Gospel-Truth, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Can that which is *dead* sanctify and justify believers? Can the *dead* give us grace and the Holy Spirit? Or have we not said so of *Christ*, that *he* is the Giver thereof? And if we have
said

said so, must not the bishop be extremely beside the business? His uncharitableness is as obvious, I will not say his untruth; but I must pray him to reflect a little better upon what he has writ; for unless he would make us to mean the *grave*, when we say, ‘That wicked men shall never come where *Christ* is gone,’ Gospel-Truth, 6. he must allow that we acknowledge *Christ* to be in *heaven*, and consequently *ascended*. What shall I say to his story of some of our *friends*, whom he makes to affirm, ‘That *Christ* is not ascended into heaven; he is in us?’ Can it touch *us*, or should he have said it, and not have *proved* it? Is that fair and candid? Is it charitable, supposing it were true, which does not appear? Or is it just to insinuate it upon the people as *dubious*? But let it be never so true, it cannot conclude the *people*, if not the *act* of the people. The *church of England* has doctors of very different sentiments; would the bishop think it fair the common belief of the church should *thereby* be concluded? It is true, and a great and comfortable truth, “That *Christ* is *in us*,” according to 2 Cor. xiii. 5. Gal. ii. 16. Col. i. 26, 27. but not *confined* to man: he is not so *there*, as that he is no where else, and least of all that he is not in *heaven*. For the apostle tells us, Eph. iv. 14. that “He ascended far above all heavens, that he might fill *all* things;” then he is in *man*, certainly. So that our asserting that doctrine of the ‘Indwelling of *Christ* in man,’ does not make void his being elsewhere, because he is every where: though in heaven most gloriously, without doubt, being there “glorified with the glory that he had with the Father before the world began.” And they that *thus* believe in *Christ*, cannot deny his being at *God’s right hand*, which signifies, according to scripture, Phil. ii. 9, 10, 11. the *highest exaltation*: nor yet to be their *Mediator*, for that is inseparable from his being their *propitiation*. So that though we did not dwell upon points, but were concise in our expressions, yet whatever is *implied*, or is *implicable* from any assertion, justice, as well as charity, always grants; and so would

would the bishop have done, had they been uppermost in his mind, when his pen ran so fast against us. I must own it was not writ for criticks, but for such readers as the bishop says *he* was, or *should* have been, to wit, who exercise *moderation* and *charity*; more of which, I hope he thinks as well as I, will do him no harm.

But it disturbs the bishop that we have said nothing of 'Christ's coming to judgment, nor of the end of 'the world, whether it be dissolvable, or eternal.' For the first, it is implied in our making all men accountable to God, for their deeds done in the body. For the other, it was not under our consideration, being not objected to us. But they that say as much of Christian doctrine as we have done in those eleven heads of our paper, did never yet, that I have heard, believe the eternity of this world, Heb. i. 10, 11, 12.

Yet again says the bishop, 'Not a word of one 'church, which it may be feared you strike out of 'your belief, because you are resolved never more to 'return into the unity of the church, but to make and 'maintain a schism, or party, for ever.'

These are very harsh constructions, besides that they beg the question, and in my opinion would have passed better from a person, whose office was less concerned in *charity*, than that of a bishop: but why, pray, must *interest* and *obstinacy* rule our dissent? What is to be got by it? Profit and preferment go the *bishop's* way, I will not say he goes *theirs*. But why not *conscience*, though it were mistaken, since we have been all along of the *losing* side? Which is not usually espoused by the men of *interest*, nor are men ordinarily obstinate *against* their interest. Let us, at least, be *honest* men, and allowed to *mean* well, though we were mistaken. But *what* church, of the many churches in Europe, is the bishop's *one* church, to which he would have us return? He has not told us, Methinks he that censures our shortness so much, should not have been deficient himself in so material a point. So that if we are out of the way, we must be so still
for

for all the *bishop*; since we are yet to seek what church we *err* from, or should *repair to*. But I will suppose he means his *own*, by which he excludes the Lutheran and Calvinist, the Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist, as well as the people called Quakers, from being of his *one* church; to say nothing of the Roman Catholick or Greek churches. But unless the *one* church, as he phrases it, (by which I understand him to intend the *true* one) may be of *two minds*, it will be difficult for him to recommend his own above the rest, because that is not only broken in *sentiments*, but *practice* too, and which the bishop knows is no longer a secret. I might mention the differences, warmly managed between the doctors of it, about *grace* and *free-will*; one taking the *Calvinist*, the other the *Arminian* way; as they also do about the doctrine of *satisfaction* and *justification*. Likewise the late controversy between two famous men of the church, about the *Trinity*, who are followed in their differing sentiments by great numbers of the learned of the bishop's *one* church: and for that reason (if no other) I cannot be so well satisfied of his exact correspondence with *all* the articles of that church *himself*. And I hope I am not beside the business, when I say, it would very well have become the bishop to have told us what it is he would *have* us believe, when he found so much fault with what that paper says we *do* believe. It would be too long, and perhaps he might think it beside the business, at least the brevity the case requires, to give him the reasons of our *separation* and *dissent*, or *disagreement* with the *church*. I put these words together, because some were never members of it, and so they could not properly be said to *separate* from it; but true it is, we may all be said to *dissent*, or *disagree*; and I would think the bishop should not be much to seek for the reasons of it. And yet where we are vulgarly apprehended to differ *most*, we dissent *least*, I mean in *doctrine*; which is the reason so many have upon occasion said, as indeed did the bishop, at the visit I made him; viz. 'Why we believe the *same*, it is what we
' preach

‘ preach as well as you.’ For except it be the *wording* of some of the articles of faith in *school-terms*, there are very few of them professed by the church of England, to which we do not heartily assent. And this I have expressed for myself, and in behalf of my friends, in my “*Key*,” and “*Primitive Christianity Revived*.” But of this, and the more material reasons of our distance from the church, I may have occasion to express myself at the closure of this vindication.

But the bishop proceeds, in his sixth paragraph, ‘ Nor have you a word of the resurrection of the body, which divers of you have been known to deny, and others of you only say, It may be so.’ I shall consider this, immediately upon the *next* paragraph, where he treats upon the same subject, and apply myself to his conclusion of *this*: ‘ Lastly, though you acknowledge everlasting rewards for them that fear God, yet nothing of the everlasting punishment of wicked men.’ I think we *do*, and that the bishop aggravates his disingenuity to us upon this head: for the words of the paper are these, ‘ It is our belief that God is, and that he is a Rewarder of all them that fear him with eternal rewards of happiness; and that those that fear him not, shall be turned into hell.’ The scriptures are, Heb. xi. 6. Rev. xxii. 12. Rom. ii. 5, 6, 7, 8. Psalm ix. 17. Now though *eternal* is not joined to *hell*, yet justice, as well as candour, would have understood it so, and to mean the hell of the damned, the punishment of evil-doers after this life, according to the ancient common belief. But the bishop, that seldom fails to make the *worst* of every thing for us, thus comments upon our words: ‘ You mention hell indeed, but whether you mean thereby the grave, as commonly in scripture is meant, or a place of temporal punishment after this life, as some have done, or a state of total destruction and annihilation, as many now a-days do, no one knows.’ But, with the bishop’s leave, what if we mean *none* of these, may we not be in the *right*, for all

all that? For what if none of these are the ancient, common, and scripture belief, what will the bishop do then? Since one would think that one of them is the *bishop's* hell, because he gives us, and his reader, no more room for our meaning, or any *other* belief of a hell. And either one of these is an article of his belief, or else he keeps the *true* hell to himself, and was not so just as to include that in the question with the rest, lest he should be thereby guilty of supposing us capable of meaning the *true* one in our Gospel-Truths, viz. "The worm that never dies, the fire that never goes out, where is weeping and gnashing of teeth for ever." See 2 Theff. i. 9. Jude vi. 7. And which, I think, is none of the three the bishop mentions. However, he abundantly shews his inclination to represent us rather wrong than right, in our belief: for if the scriptures by us cited are consulted, they plainly shew we never meant the *grave*, and that they equally refer to the future state of the souls of men; viz. 'That all shall receive the recompence of their works, and the rewards of their deeds, according to the nature and quality of them.' And if the rewards of the righteous are eternal, then so must those of the wicked be, or both must be temporary: for the Holy Ghost makes no difference as to the duration of the one more than of the other. One grain of a truly Christian temper, had saved the bishop, and he me, the trouble of this, as well as other reflections.

I am come now to his seventh paragraph, the first part of which is a heavy complaint of our shortness and deficiency in expressing ourselves. We, it seems, are too *general* in some points, and *wave* in others, he is pleased to say, 'Eight of twelve,' but instances only in that of the *resurrection*; though he conjures us at the same time, upon our eternal account, to consider what he says. Now if being *general*, and keeping to the terms of scripture, be a fault, we are like to be *more* vile with the bishop: for, thanks be to God, *that only* is our *creed*; and with good reason too: since it is fit THAT should only *conclude* and be the *creed* of
Christians,

Christians, which the Holy Ghost could only *propose* and *require* us to believe. For if the *comment* is made the creed instead of the *text*, from that time we believe not in God, but in *man*. I heartily wish none had been wise above what is *written*, and that generals had concluded Christians; then charity had been better maintained, and piety promoted: whereas *strains* or *refinements* upon the text, have thrown us into those labyrinths of controversy, that the zeal which should have been employed to suppress *sin* in all its branches, has too generally been used to fire one party upon another, till practice, which is *religion indeed*, was blown up by the generality. So much for our ‘shortness, or ‘waving,’ as the bishop calls it.

I shall now attend his only necessary point of eight, that he thought fit to mention, which, he says, we either suppress, or wave, viz. ‘The resurrection of the ‘dead.’ I confess I did not think that any body would have been so uncharitable to us, after our acknowledging the *future state* of the just and unjust, since that implies it, and every medium to it. However, I will attend what the bishop urges for proof of what we do not *deny*, but always must the slander of doing so. ‘I will (says he) only mind you of two passages out of ‘the scriptures of truth, 1 Cor. xv. 16, 17. “If the “dead rise not, your faith is vain, you are yet in your “sins.” ‘Hence it appears (says the bishop) all other ‘points of faith are in vain, if this be not true.’ And so say I, as well as the bishop, and shall always say as he says, while he says no more than the *text* says: for who can think that allows himself to think, that we should not believe an immortality, who have exposed ourselves, and suffered so much, that we may obtain an *happy* one. But the question is not whether the dead *rise*, but ‘with ‘what *bodies*?’ For if the dead rise not, then may we say with the apostle, verse 19, in the same chapter, “We “are of all men most miserable.” So that the resurrection of the dead is out of all dispute with us: but with *what body*, will, I believe, be one, *till* the dead rise.

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Here it is we are cautious, and tread softly; remembering what the apostle says to the curious and inquisitive upon this head, ver. 35, 36, 37, 38. "But some man will say, How are the dead raised up, and with what bodies do they come? Thou fool, thou sowest not that body which shall be, but bare grain. —But God giveth it a body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed its own body." Here is the ground of our caution, which the bishop is pleased to call *suppression*, and others *denying* of the resurrection. We have, indeed, been *negative* to the gross conceit of people concerning the rising of *this carnal* body we carry about with us, which better agrees with the alcoran of Mahomet, than the gospel of Christ: but, that there is a resurrection of the just and unjust to rewards and punishments, we have ever believed. And, indeed, we cannot but wonder that any should be displeased with us, for being pleased with *that* which God is pleased to give us. *Bodies* we shall have, but not the *same*, says the apostle, and so believes the Quaker; "but God giveth every one a body as pleaseth *him*," and that pleaseth *us*, whoever it displeaseth: for we had rather be called fools *ten* times by the *bishop*, than *once* by the *apostle*, which we think we should deserve, if we should dare to stretch the text, or presume to define the secret.

The other scripture urged by the bishop, in defence of what we never opposed, is, Rom. x. 9. "If thou shalt confess with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved." He adds, 'those who believe this as they should do, shall be saved.' But, 'that we have left out both Christ's resurrection, and our own, in our faith.' In the first part of his note, I agree with him, that all who *rightly* believe the text, will be saved: for that must be by the illumination and working of the saving power of Christ in the heart, that he *can* so believe. But that we have left out Christ's resurrection and our own, is a mistake already observed, because they are both plainly implied; one in our belief
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of Christ's being a propitiation for sin, and the light, life, and strength of his people, and in giving us his grace and Holy Spirit, which that which is dead *cannot* do; and our own resurrection is sufficiently secured, in our declared belief of rewards and punishments, though the mode of it be not expressed: nor was there any reason for saying more upon that head, with respect to the occasion of our paper's being published.

I am now come to the bishop's eighth paragraph, which comprehends his exceptions to three of our *gospel-truths*, viz. the 5th, 6th, and 7th, which wholly relate to the doctrine of the *light of Christ within man*. And I am truly sorry to find the bishop at so great a loss, as that paragraph shews him, about so excellent and evident a principle; and which so very much concerns him, and indeed all men, to know. And that my reader may inform himself thoroughly in this matter, I must desire him to look back, and read those three Gospel-Truths, and compare them with the bishop's eighth paragraph, and he will make himself a much better judge of the validity of the bishop's answer, and my reply, and which of us two keeps closest to the doctrine and language of the holy scriptures, that he in the same paragraph seems so much to respect.

His first exception in this paragraph, is at our incapacity: for he says, 'We have never been able yet, that he could find, to make out what we mean by the light of Christ within.' Perhaps the bishop has never sought, or has sought amiss; which as great and learned men as himself have done before now, and so missed what they have sought for: and then it cannot be a wonder, that he has not found out what we mean by the light of Christ in man. But that a bishop should represent this an unintelligible doctrine, after reading so distinct and plain an account of it in "Robert Barclay's Apology," not to mention divers other books, and, which is of greater authority, the *scriptures of truth*, is no ordinary surprize to me. Has the bishop forgot the First of John, and the 4th, 9th, and 16th verses,

verses, where speaking of the Word-God, he says, "In him was life, and the life was the *light* of men."

This is that light of Christ the Quakers assert, and desire to turn the minds of all people to: for all must *have* it, if it be the *light* of all, as the text plainly tells us it is. The ninth verse is yet more express, viz. "That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world;" than which, nothing can be more expressed to our purpose. And thatt he bishop should feel no share in this glorious light of men, renders him very unfit, methinks, for an overseer of them.

I know some read this text otherwise, as indeed he did to me in Cork, viz. "That was the true light, *that coming* into the world lighteth all men;" referring the word *coming* to Christ, and not to man. But all the versions I ever met with, and I have seen more than twenty, render the verse as it is in our *English* translations: and all criticks and commentators, except the followers of *Socinus*, read and render it as *we* do. And while we have so much company, and so great authority, I think we need not be solicitous about the success of this point. But besides that the foregoing verse tells us, that the *divine life* of the WORD-GOD, is the *light* of men, which shews all mankind have it *in* them (for it is the light of their *minds*, and not of their bodies) it is impossible that interpretation should be true in a strict sense: for the coming of Christ in that blessed manifestation, was to the *Jews* only: he says it himself, "He was not sent but to the lost sheep of the house of *Israel*," Mat. xiii. 24. Again, "He came unto his own, and his own received him not," John i. 11. And within that narrow compass he could not be said to be the light of all mankind that *had, did, and should* come into the world; for so both the 4th and 9th verse plainly import, viz. 'The light of mankind, without restriction to this or that manifestation of God to men.'

But the bishop is still at a loss what to make of this light, and what we would be at; 'For, says he, 'you
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‘ will not allow it to be either the natural rational faculty, or common innate notions, or natural conscience, or conscience illuminated by the preaching of the gospel, and the operation of the Holy Ghost thereby.’ We say, we would have it to be what the scriptures say it to be, viz. the light of *Christ*, the Son of God, who called himself, John viii. 12. “ the light of the *world* ;” and if so, then *every* man’s light; the light of *every* mind and understanding, and consequently the light of *Christ* within; too hard it seems, for the bishop to comprehend; and yet so very easy for the meanest capacity, that observes the discoveries and convictions of it in their own hearts.

But since it is, as he rightly terms it, a fundamental with us, we will follow the bishop, in his enquiries, a little farther. We say first then, It is not the natural rational faculty of man; for then it would be *man*, or a part of his *composition*, merely as man: but that it is not, but a *manifestation*, in the soul of man, of *Christ*, “ the word of God, the light of the world, the second Adam, the Lord from heaven, the quickening Spirit, who was full of grace and truth, and of whom man hath received grace for grace:” to wit, a talent, a proportion suitable to his want and capacity, to convince and convert him, to renew and restore him from his great lapse unto God, his blessed Maker, again. In short, our natural rational faculty is our *sight*, but not our *light*: that, by which we discern and judge what the divine light shews us, viz. *good* from *evil*, and *error* from *truth*. But as the *eye* of the body is the sensible faculty of seeing external objects, through the discovery that an external light (as the *sun* in the firmament) makes to the eye, but is not *that light itself*; so does the rational faculty of the soul see spiritual or immaterial objects, through the illumination of the light of *Christ* within, but is by no means *that light itself*, any more than the *eye* is the *sun*, or *John the Baptist* was our blessed Lord and Saviour *Jesus Christ*, that was but servant and fore-runner of his blessed manifestation in the flesh.

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As for the bishop's *innate notions* and *natural conscience*, if by them he means impressions, or principles, which are born and come with us into the world, viz. "the law of God in the heart of man," I must tell him, first, that this is not the language of the law and testimony he refers us to in the same paragraph: and next, that as the *work* is not the *workman*, so they are not properly the *light* of *Christ*, but the blessed fruit and effect of the light of Christ, the Word-God, in man, which shines in the heart, and gives him the knowledge of God, and of his duty to him. So that the innate notions, or inward knowledge we have of God, is *from* this true light that lighteth every man coming into the world, but is not *that light itself*. Just so the bishop's natural conscience, must only mean a *capacity* that man has by nature, that is, in his creation, of making a judgment of himself, his duty, and actions, according to the judgment of God manifested to him by the *light* of *Christ* *within*. Not that such a capacity is that *light*, but that it sees, or understands, by the inshining of the divine light, the things that belong to man's duty and peace.

Nor is it, 'Conscience *illuminated* by the preaching of the gospel, and the operation of the Holy Ghost thereon,' which is the last of the bishop's constructions; but *that very* PRINCIPLE of *life* and *light*, which *illuminates* the conscience, and was the very spring and force of the apostolical ministry, and of the conviction and conversion of their hearers; and which opened their hearts to receive the gospel when preached unto them. In short, this excellent principle is *in* man, but not *of* man, but of *God*. The nature of it is to discover sin, reprove for it, and lead out of it, all such as love and obey the convictions thereof. It is a principle of divine life, that quickens the obedient heart to newness of life: it raises the mind above the world to God; and searches out and reveals the deep things of God to the humble and waiting soul. And be it known to the bishop, and all that with him profess ignorance about what we mean by the light of Christ within man; this is

if I have been treating of; and I have writ, I bless Almighty God, my own experience, the taste and relish I have had of its excellency and sufficiency, in the course of the far greater and best part of my life.

But the bishop must excuse me, if I say, I cannot but take it very ill at his hands, to forbid us, in his following words, 'to pretend to give an account of what we believe, unless we can make him understand our meaning;' and because he does not penetrate our sense, to call our way of wording that blessed principle of the light of Christ in man, a *perfect banter*. This, to me, is one of the severest persecutions; because *spiritual* things are only to be *spiritually* discerned and understood. I would fain know how a regenerate man can possibly make a carnal man understand the *new-birth*? It is, certainly, the gift of God to understand divine truths, as well as rightly to believe. So that supposing our assertion of the nature, power, and excellency of the light of Christ in man to be *true*, not to have leave to *say* so, unless we could make every man rightly take our sense and meaning, whether he be *spiritually discerning* or *not*, looks antichristian, as well as unreasonable. "We speak wisdom," says the apostle, "among them that are perfect," 1 Cor. vii. 6. It seems others understood him *not*; must he therefore not have *wrote* of the things of God? The very preaching of the gospel was foolishness to the wiselings of the *Jews* and *Greeks*; they could make neither head nor tail of it, by *their* way of judging of truth: must not the gospel therefore be *preached*? When the apostle Paul preached to the Athenians, some of the men of the gown, the philosophers of that time, opposed and despised him, saying, "What will this babbler say?" But had they known what he *meant*, we cannot think they would have *said* so to him. Was the *apostle* then, or the *Athenians* in fault, that they did not understand him? Or, was it *bantering*, as well as *babbling*, because he did not make them understand his meaning; which is only the work of the Holy Ghost to do? Who was it, I pray, that said, "The world by wisdom knew not God?" And can

can we suppose any thing else blinded the Scribes and Pharisees, and the high-priest of the Jews, from discerning the *Messiah* when he came? For they wanted not *academical learning*, if that could have enlightened them; nor yet the *scriptures*; but they resisted the *Holy Ghost*, their ONLY TRUE INTERPRETER, and so stumbled and fell. Let the bishop also have a care.

In the second chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, he will find that the apostle spake the wisdom of God in a *mystery*, "which the princes of the world knew not," with all their wisdom: "For the things of God," says the apostle, "knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God;" by which those Christians knew those things that were freely given to them of God. "Which things also we speak," says he, "not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the Holy Ghost teacheth, comparing spiritual things with spiritual. But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God, for they are foolishness unto him: neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned." Now, according to the bishop's treatment of us, the apostle ought not to have *writ* of faith and salvation, unless he could have made all that read his writings *understand* his meaning. And it must be a *perfect banter*, to talk of speaking wisdom in a *mystery*, and not in the terms that *man's* wisdom teacheth.

But the Lord Jesus Christ was of another mind, when he said, "I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, because thou hast *hid* these things (the *treasures* of the kingdom) from the wise and prudent, and revealed them unto babes: even so, Father, for so it seemed good in thy sight." It is hence, beyond all dispute, that God *hideth* the mysteries of his kingdom from the *wisdom* of man, while *simplicity* and *sincerity* fail not to *reach* and *understand* them. Here it was that poor Nicodemus was absolutely at a loss for Christ's meaning, when Christ said, "Unless a man be born again, he can in no-wise enter into the kingdom of God," John iii. in so much as he asked Christ, upon his

his discourse of the new birth, "How can these things be?" At which Christ seems to admire, in a sort of reproof upon Nicodemus, "Art thou a master of Israel, and knowest not these things?" As much as to say, "Art thou, a man of *thy* station in the church of God, ignorant in the way to heaven?" Whoever reads that notable interview between Christ and Nicodemus, will find that Christ resolves the matter into *two births*, that which is born of the *flesh*, and that which is born of the *spirit*, and these are contrary: and therefore no wonder if they differ in their understanding of the holy scriptures, being a declaration of the *faith* and *experience*, as well as *doctrine* and *practice*, of the servants of God, that were enlightened and born of the Holy Ghost. Nor is this all; for "they that are born of the flesh, persecute them that are born after the spirit." So that when they can no longer commit violence upon their persons and estates, they will persecute them with their *tongues* and *pens*: they are hereticks, blasphemers, illiterate, and ignorant, yet presumptuous; enemies to Cæsar, and disobedient to government, if they will not give God's due unto man, viz. *conscience*. And if they chuse to deliver themselves in *scripture* stile, and speak earnestly of the necessity of the work of the *Spirit* of God, in order to an *experimental* and *saving* knowledge of the truth, declared in holy scripture; and that *Christ's ministers* are made by the *Holy Ghost*, and not by human learning; and that the worship which is acceptable to God, must be in the *spirit* and in the *truth*; that is, with *clean hearts* and *right spirits*, kindled and inflamed with the *Holy Spirit* of God; they must be called enthusiasts, unintelligible, men of cant and banter. And here I leave the bishop, upon this paragraph, desiring him to consider, whether his knowledge of God the Father, and Jesus Christ, "whom rightly to know, is life eternal," John xvii. be by the *revelation* of the Son of God in his own soul; since Christ himself teacheth and affirmeth, that "no man knows the Father but the Son, and he to whom the Son *reveals* him:" I should be glad to see the
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bishop's evidence for this knowledge. For in the conclusion of this paragraph, he turns us to the *scriptures*, who, in the beginning of it, makes us *unintelligible*, and *banterers* in religion, for expressing ours in the *terms* of it; which may well merit the bishop's serious reflection.

His ninth paragraph refers to our eighth article, as he calls it, of which he cites these eight words only, "Worship, under the gospel, is inward and spiritual;" upon which, he says, "If you mean, that outward worship ought to be performed with inward and spiritual worship, it is what we preach, and practise; but if (as it would seem) you mean that all the worship God now requires, is from the inward man, or from the Spirit, this is abominably false; for our bodies are God's handy-work, and God, by the apostle, commands, "Glorify God in your body, and in your spirit, which are God's." "Not to tell you, that you, yourselves, now-a-days, perform somewhat of bodily worship." Indeed we do, and ever did, and ever shall, I hope, while we have bodies to worship God in. We are so far from denying the body what share is due to it, that with the apostle, 1 Cor. vi. 19. we say, "What, know ye not that your bodies are the temples of the Holy Ghost, which is in you, which ye have of God, and you are not your own?" Of which I would have the bishop well consider: for, if our very bodies are under the *influence* of the Holy Ghost, how much more reasonable is it to believe, that it dwells in our *souls*; and that our hearts must be prepared, and animated by the Holy Spirit, in all our devotion towards God. But two things I must remark to the bishop, first, That we did not give him the least occasion to suspect we denied bodily worship, as appears by the gospel-truth now in question: for it is plain there, by these words, "worship in this day is inward and spiritual," that we only distinguish between *gospel* worship, and the *ceremonial* and *pompous* worship of the *law*; and that by *spiritual* worship, we understand praying, praising, and preaching by the preparation and

sanctification of the *Spirit of God*; which the bishop does not, and, I hope, dares not, deny: yet unkindly, and I think unjustly, brings in his *as it would seem*, to make us, by an uncharitable innuendo, look to his reader, as if we denied bodily worship. And yet, to avoid so hard a chapter, as maintaining this aspersion would prove to the bishop, he is forced to confess "that *now-a-days* we perform *somewhat* of bodily worship:" as if we did not perform any formerly, and but a little now: which shews not that candour that his character owes us, and but too plainly tells every impartial reader, how much more mind he has that we should be in the *wrong* than in the right. I must confess, we have *less* pomp and gaudiness in our worship, as well as in our clothes, than is the custom of some other churches, and think it our happiness, that we are freed from such an *unprofitable*, as well as *unsuitable*, incumbrance. Whatever it be, it is such as we believe God by his Holy Spirit hath led us into; and though it be not so entertaining to those who are governed more by their *outward senses* than their souls, yet I hope it will be allowed us to be *grave, solemn, and fervent*.

The other remark I make upon the bishop's exceptions is this, That the Spiritual worship he there allows of, seems to be but the worship of *man's* spirit, and not of the Spirit of *God* working upon the spirit of man. I would not imitate him, lest I should be uncharitable too; for if my reader can make more of it, he has my consent; but that seems to me to be the bishop's interpretation upon Christ's words, cited by us, on this occasion, viz. "God will be worshipped in spirit and *in truth*:" though there is a truth in *that* also, yet this *not* being so *peculiar* to the gospel-dispensation, could not be the *extent* of Christ's words, whose drift certainly was, to draw men's minds to a more *inward* and *spiritual* worship; not only to have *less ceremony* than was practised among the Jews, but to feel more of the *power* and *Spirit of God* in our adoration and praises, than belonged to the former dispensation; and with which I heartily wish the bishop a better acquaintance. Upon the

the whole matter, I am apt to think my reader believes with me, he might as well have spared his pains upon us about the first part of his Gospel Truth, as he is silent of the latter, viz. 'That we may preach in *power* as well as *words*; and, as God promised, and Christ ordained, without *money* and without *price*.'

The bishop, in his tenth paragraph, is pleased to endeavour to lessen the authority and credit of our ninth Gospel Truth, relating to the *vain fashions* and *customs* of the *world*. His words are these: 'You tell us of denying all the vain customs and fashions of the world, as also excess in all things; I know of no sort of Christians who teach otherwise: I wish I knew none (even of yourselves) that practised otherwise; it is one part of our catechism we teach our children.' He first concurs with our doctrine, for he says, 'he knows none that preaches otherwise;' and that they do the like in their catechism. So far, then, he allows us to be sound. But he wishes he 'knew none (even of us) that practise otherwise.' This is a sort of charge, and being not proved, looks like a calumny. Some, perhaps, do not walk quite so strictly as becomes them, to their profession; but are they *owned* by us therein? Or indulged itself? If not, what are we to conclude, but that the bishop's insinuation is to balance accounts with us for the failures of his *own* people? But, pray are our excesses *equal*, or the *numbers*, that in proportion do transgress? I would not have him comfort himself with his uncharitableness to his honest and friendly neighbours: as it will not excuse his less exact friends, that any of ours live larger than they profess, so it cannot justly affect our body, where so few are faulty, when it is so well known that such are sure to meet with due reproof.

But he adds, that 'There are many innocent and laudable customs we call vain:' This is all in a heap, and a reflection by wholesale. I can truly tell him, I know of none; and if he had been more particular, so would I too: perhaps he thought generals best to make his reflection *safe*: but if it were my place to be plain-

tiff, I could treat the bishop with a large catalogue of very offensive customs, that would concern him to think upon. However, he is pleased to be particular upon us in one of them, which almost turns his stomach, he says, to think of, viz. 'Would it not make a man's stomach turn, to hear one forbear, in point of *conscience*, saying, *you* to a single person, because it is improper; and at the same time, while he is talking to his superior, because *thou dost* sounds a little rudely, to soften the *thou*, and say, *thee dost*, which is commonly your people's practice.' It is pity the bishop could find nothing else to observe from us, that might have better edified us and his readers: yet if this be that, among the laudable customs which we call vain, which is most offensive to his stomach, it shews him to have a very *weak* one. However, a *weak* stomach is better than a *weak head*; and such an one I should take mine to be, if my instances were no more to the purpose and my reader's instruction.

But I have somewhat to say to the bishop, before I leave him, upon the old topick of *sincerity* and *charity*, in this reflection, as I have had in most of the other, viz. That he makes the *ground* of our conscientiousness, about the saying of *you* to a single person, to be only *propriety* of speech; which he (I was going to say) in his conscience must know is not so: but that the true reason of it is, first, that it is the language of the *scriptures* of *truth*; and next, that the original of *you*, to a single person, was *pride* and *flattery*, being a *plural* honour to a *single person*, given first to *Potentates*, and then gradually to all subordinate ranks of people. In ancient and unmixed tongues, *thou* to a single person is kept still, as also among the common people of the present languages, and particularly in that kingdom where he is a bishop. I refer him to a book, intituled, "No Cross, No Crown," where he will find *other* reasons for our tenderness in that matter than he alleges, or we have room for here; though the bishop confines us to *propriety*, as the *only* reason of our practice, that he might the better lash us with the impropriety of
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thee for thou; which yet he might have spared, since nothing is more common with all people, than to take the like freedom in speech, in *cases* as well as *tenfes*, not excepting the learned themselves. But be it so, we keep *numbers*, and intend not clipping of *cases*; and that is our point, though not the bishop's, it seems; which it should have been, would he have been just to us upon the question. As for the *levity* and *scorn*, with which he is pleased to treat us upon this head, I shall only say, it unbecame him, and confirms us, more than it exposes us, whatever it does him.

But I confess I am surpris'd to find a man of his character and pretensions, propose so loose a question as that with which he closes his paragraph, viz. 'Will you ever be able to prove, the primitive Christians used a dialect, or dress, different from others of their nation or quality, and placed religion in it? Does not Christ require saluting those that salute not us? And, no doubt, his and his apostles salutations were in the common form.' Doubtless, we *are* able, most easily and fully: and it is admirable to conceive how he could be ignorant of those proofs, who ought to be so well read in *scripture* and *antiquity*. "I beseech you therefore, brethren," says the apostle, "by the mercies of God, that you present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God; which is your reasonable service: and *be not conformed to this world*, but be ye *transformed* by the renewing of your minds," Rom. xii. 1, 2. Again, the apostle Peter, chap. i. 13, 14. exhorts the believers "to gird up the loins of their minds, and be sober, as obedient children, not *fashioning* themselves according to the *former* lusts in their ignorance;" which was the *custom* of their country. And chap. iii. 3, 4. "Whose adorning let it not be that of *plaiting the hair*, and of *wearing of gold*, or of *putting on of apparel*: but let it be the *bidden man* of the *heart*, in that which is *not corruptible*, even the ornament of a *meek* and *quiet spirit*, which is, in the sight of God, of great price." Thus the apostolical counsel to the churches.

churches. But for all this, the bishop of Cork cannot tell how to think we are able to prove, 'that the primitive Christians differed in their dress, from other people in their country and quality.' Nor was this only the strictness of *that* time; for the same apostle adds, verse 4, as an argument to enforce his advice, "For, after *this manner*," says he, "in the old time, the holy women also, who trusted in God, adorned *themselves*." But can a man of his letters really be at a loss for a proof of the singularity of primitive Christians, in dress, speech, and behaviour? Or is it to try whether we have any to resolve his question? Or, taking our illiterature for granted, that he *puts upon* us? I beseech him to converse with Ouzelius upon Minutius Felix, and he will tell him that the first Christians were taxed and despised for *ill-bred* in manners, *unpolished* in speech, *unfashionable* in behaviour; in fine, *rusticks* and *clowns*: as the Christians, ironically, returned their scorn to the stile of *well-bred* and *eloquent*. This, and much more, he cites out of Arnobius, Lactantius, Theodoret, &c. And Jerome, writing to Celantia and Demetias, noble women of that time, sets them a *singular* form of life from that of the people of their quality: and Paulinus, bishop of Nola, was so far from pleading for Christians *temporizing* with the people of their own nation, or quality, according to the bishop of Cork, that he sharply *reproves* Sulpitius Severus *for it*, in a letter to him; as the learned Casaubon, in his "Discourse of Use and Customs," observes. If the bishop would look into the "*Constitutions*," that go under the name of *Clemens Romanus*, with Tertullian, Gregory Naz. Clemens Alexandrinus, Austin, Gregory the Great, and other ancients, he would perceive the care and zeal of those eminent men to suppress the educations and customs of the Gentiles, and to encourage and recommend the simplicity and moderation of the manners and behaviour of the first Christians, which Machiavel, in his 2d book of "*Disputations*," takes notice of, and is none of the least proofs to our point.

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And to finish my authorities, passing by Petrus Boninius, Gratian, Cardan, Luther, &c. I must recommend to the bishop the history of the Waldenses, (an early people, if not *successive* from the primitive times) written by one Perrin, more especially concerning their *faith, worship, and discipline*; and there he may, if he please, observe the *simplicity, plainness, and distinction* of that people from the customs of the countries they lived in, and those that have the name of reformed ones now.

But he tells us, 'Christ and his apostles had salutations;' and I tell him, so have we. But he will have it, 'that Christ and his apostles saluted after the *fashion* of the *country* they were in;' which is sooner said than proved. For Christ asked the Jews, "How can you believe, that receive honour one of another, and seek not the honour that cometh from God only?" Now this, certainly, must be unlawful to give or receive, which hinders true faith. And what was this honour, but *salutations* after the fashions of the times? As the text shews, Matt. xxiii. And for calling, and being called of men, *Rabbi*, Christ was so far from commanding, or imitating them in such things, that he expressly *forbids it*. But the meaning of Christ's saying, Matt. v. "And if you salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others? Do not even the publicans so?" is this; that in all acts of *love, mercy, and goodness*, they were to *exceed* the practice of that time: they were to take more notice of, and to look more kindly and friendly upon, all men. But, in another sense, he that bid them salute *enemies* as well as *friends*, also forbids his disciples to salute *any man*, or call *any man Rabbi, or Master*; for that *one* was their *Lord and Master*, and they were all *brethren*, Matt. xxiii. 6, 7, 8. and Luke x. 4. And between *such* relations, worldly honours were of no use, as well as of no value. And did a primitive spirit prevail in those that so much pretend to be the *successors* of the apostles, we should see them more exemplary in *self-denial* and *holiness*; encouraging, and not

and an inheritance among them which are sanctified. So that the very end and benefit of the apostolical ministry was *converting*, that is, *baptizing them into Christianity*, in the nature, power, and life of it, by the *Holy Ghost*.

Now, for the bishop's second reason, viz. *Practice*: I say it is granted, that water-baptism having got place among them by John's ministry, the fore-runner, it held after Christ's coming; but that was *ex gratiâ*, and of *condescension*, not of *commissiõ*; for that properly *ceases*, when *his* ministratiõ *begins*, of which John's was but the *fore-runner*. For *Moses* and the *prophets* were 'till *John*, and *John* 'till *Christ*. And this, John, the Water-baptist, tells us, Mat. iii. 11. "I indeed baptize you with *water* unto repentance; but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, he shall baptize you with the *Holy Ghost* and with *fire*," see Mark i. 8. Luke iii. 16. Here is a *different* baptism and baptizer, the *servant* and the *master*, the *water* and the *Holy Ghost*. One *transient*, the other *permanent*: one the *end* of the *Jewish*, and the other the *beginning* of the *gospel* dispensation. Wherefore, says our Lord Jesus Christ, "The least in the kingdom of heaven is greater than *John*," Matt. xi. 11. Why, is not John in heaven? No doubt of it at all, and a glorious saint too: but the least in *Christ's* dispensation, viz. 'The kingdom of God in the *soul*, the work of *Christ*, the baptizer with the *Holy Ghost* and *fire*,' is greater than *John*, as to the *nature* of *his* administration. See John iii. 30, 31. "He must increase, but I must decrease." What! *John* decrease, or his *ministry*? His *ministratiõ*, certainly, which he calls *earthly*, in comparison of *Christ's*. So that the Baptist, in his *watery* dispensation, did but *forerun* *Christ*, in reference to the kingdom that he was to set up in men. He pointed to *Christ*, and shewed what *Christ* was to do, viz. to *wash*, *fan*, and thoroughly *purge* his *floor*; that is, his *people*, and sanctify them *shrougbout*, by his *spirital* baptism, according to the apostle, in *body*, *soul*, and *spirit*, 1 Thess. v. 23. So that, in short,
practice,

practice, properly, can be no *institution*, where the thing practised has no *commission*; which, I suppose, the bishop will not think fit to deny: 'But,' says he, 'it has a commission,' Matt. xxviii. 19. which is, under favour, but his *say-so*; and that I think it is no more, I do, with all humility and submission, say, first, I cannot tell how to reconcile it to good sense, or common usage, in sacred or civil matters, that any thing should be in *force* by a commission, that is not so much as *once named* in the commission. I say, to me, it does not appear *congruous*, any more than *cogent*, or obliging. And this is the cause in hand: for there is not a word of *water* in the text alleged for water; nor yet in the context. And unless there were *no other* baptism than that of *water*, as there are several, it must, at least, be allowed to be a question, *what* baptism Christ meant in that commission, when he said, "Go ye, therefore, and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost."

But it may be returned upon me, 'Nor does the text say it is the baptism of the *Holy Ghost*,' and so the bishop is upon equal terms with me. Grant it, that the word *Holy Ghost* is not literally joined to *baptizing*, any more than the word *water* in that part: but if I am able to shew that the *thing* is there, and that the baptism of the Holy Ghost was the *subject* of Christ's discourse, when he gave that commission at his farewell, I presume it will be granted me, that Christ intended a *spiritual*, and not a *water-baptism*; and that is what I shall do, I hope, with much clearness. First, the fact, and then my arguments. *Matthew*, the evangelist, large in his history upon other points, seems short and abrupt in the context of this commission, as the reader may observe. And as it is usual for one evangelist to explain another, (which was the great wisdom, as well as goodness of God, that those Christian memorials might come with less suspicion to the world of any human contrivance); so *Luke* supplies the shortness of the other evangelist

in his context to this commission. Luke xxiv. 45, to 50, particularly the 47, 48, 49, verses. "And that repentance, and remission of sins, should be preached in his name among all nations, beginning at *Jerusalem*. And ye are *witnesses* of these things. And behold I send the *promise* of my Father upon you: but tarry ye in the city of *Jerusalem* until ye be endued with power from on high." Where, as it is plain that this evangelist, in his account of Christ's commission, (to wit, the work Christ gave his disciples to do) names no *baptizing* at all, though that which it *implies*, in my sense of the word, is there, viz. *the promise of the Father*, which is the power from on high they were to *tarry* at *Jerusalem* for. So is there not *one word* of *water* here mentioned, to induce us to think that Christ intended to give it *any place* in his commission. In short it appears that the disciples were to be *qualified*, before they were to go forth as his *witnesses*, and that this *qualification* is the *promise of the Father*, that he would quickly send them. Now I must desire my reader to turn to the *acts* of this evangelist, chap. i. 4, 5. where he farther opens the manner and matter of Christ's discourse, and farewell to his disciples: "And (Christ) being assembled with them, commanded them that they should not depart from *Jerusalem*, but wait for the *promise* of the Father, which, saith he, ye have learnt of me: for, John truly baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost not many days hence." It can be, methinks, no longer a doubt *what* baptism it is that Christ's words, Matt. xxviii. 19. refer to; since we see not only that Christ distinguishes between *John's* baptism and *his own*, and between *water* and *Holy Ghost*; but also he assigns water-baptism to *John*, as *his* baptism, and not *Christ's*, and thereby declares the *Holy Ghost* to be *his own* baptism, and none of *John's*, and which yet is no more than what John had said before.

So that comparing both texts together, Matt. xxviii. 19, and Acts i. 4, 5, we may see, if we please, that the

the *commission* in the one, is to be explained by the *qualifications* in the other, which was omitted by the first evangelist. There they are bid to *go*, here they are bid to *stay*: that is to say, ‘stay, before you go, and receive your *qualifications*, before you go to *qualify*,’ viz. the *promise* of the *Father*; that is, the *baptism* of the *Holy Ghost*, which is followed by the *power from on high*, verse 8. And indeed, had we not this express force on our side from the text itself, the word *therefore*, in the *commission*, (referring plainly to the foregoing verse, as the reason of what follows) justifies our sense. For whereas the bishop has objected against our assertion, ‘That it must not be a *spiritual* baptism, because that was the work of God, and not of the apostles;’ it is plain that our Lord takes off the force of his exception, since the reason why he bid them *go*, &c. is, “Because,” says he, “all power in heaven and earth is given unto me,” verse 18. as much as if he had said, ‘Go, do all that I have said unto you, and be not *doubting* or *fearful*, about the performance of it; for *all power* in heaven and earth is given unto *me*, that *bid* you go, and lo I am with you always, even unto the end of the world.’ Which need not have been said, as an encouragement to them, in reference to *water-baptism*, since that was practised by them, as well as by John’s disciples, long before.

Nor is this all; for the very text, duly considered, will not have it to be *water*, since that could baptize none *into* the name of the *Father*, *Son*, and *Holy Ghost*, and so the bishop knows the Greek text runs εἰς τὸ ὄνομα. For they that are baptized *into* the name of the *Father*, and of the *Son*, and of the *Holy Ghost*, must be baptized with the baptism of the *Holy Ghost*: since it is to become their *likeness*, and bear their *image*, which is *holiness*. And had not the apostles understood their *commission* as I render it, when they had baptized with water they would certainly have used the terms that bore the force of their *commission*, viz. “In the name of the *Father*, and of the *Son*, and of

“ the Holy Ghost;” of which there is not one instance in all the scripture.

But that which farther shews that *water* cannot be understood to be meant in the apostolical commission, is, that one of the greatest of the apostles, he that came behind (and was added to by) none of them, denies it (1 Cor. i. 27.) to be *any part* of his *commission*; “ For,” says he, “ Christ sent me not to *baptize*, but to preach the gospel:” and thanks God for that reason, in the foregoing verses, that he had baptized *so few*: which, to be sure, he ought not to have done, but, on the contrary, to have been sorry he had baptized no more, had water-baptism been part of the apostolical commission, Matt. xxviii. 19. Again, this eminent apostle, the great grand-father, [not to say god-father] of Gentile-Christians, delivered to them for doctrine, Eph. iv. 5. that there was but “ One Lord, one faith, and one baptism.” And if so, that must be the baptism of *fire* and of the *Holy Ghost*, which is *Christ’s* baptism, and *proper* to the gospel-dispensation. Now, could any other make a man a *true Christian*, or a *child of God*, then? Nor can any be so now without it. That baptism, therefore, without which a man cannot be a *true Jew*, or *Christian*, or of the “ circumcision made without hands, “ that worship God in the spirit, and hath no confidence in the flesh,” must needs be the *one baptism*: but such is the baptism of the *Holy Ghost*: therefore the *spiritual baptism* is the apostle’s *one baptism*, Rom. ii. 28, 29. Phil. iii. 3. Again; the *one baptism* must be *Christ’s* baptism: but Christ’s is the baptism of the *spirit*; therefore *that*, and not *water-baptism*, must be the *one baptism* that is in force, according to the apostle. As *John* was the fore-runner of *Christ*, so was *water*, of the *Holy Ghost*: but that which *fore-runs*, in nature *ceases*; and that which *succeeds*, of course *remains*: therefore the baptism of the *spirit*, is the *one needful* and *permanent* baptism.

Yet farther; If it be gospel, “ That he is not a
 “ Jew that is one outward, nor that circumcision
 “ that

“ that is outward in the flesh; but that he is a Jew
 “ that is one *inward*, and that is circumcision that is
 “ of the heart, in the *spirit*, and not in the *letter*;
 “ whose praise is not of men, but of God,” as Rom.
 ii. 28, 29. then, unanswerably, ‘ He is not a *Christian*
 ‘ that is one *outward*, nor is that *baptism* that is of the
 ‘ *flesh*: but he is a Christian that is one *inwardly*, and
 ‘ that is baptism that is of the *heart*, in the *spirit*;
 ‘ whose praise is not of men, but of God.’ For, in-
 deed, in all ages, men cry him down, as a *slighter* of
 God’s ordinances; but his praise, however, is of *God*,
 let men say what they will: and this is the inward
 Christian’s comfort, in all undervaluings and reflections
 he meets with from outside Christians. For it is not
 to be thought that the apostle meant or designed to
 undervalue *one* observation, as that of circumcision,
 because it is outward, and set up *another* outward ob-
 servation *instead* of it, viz. *water-baptism*.

Again, “ If in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision
 “ availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a *new*
 “ *creature*,” as saith the same apostle, Gal. vi. 15;
 then, by the same reason, ‘ Neither being baptized
 ‘ with *water* availeth any thing, nor being *not* baptized
 ‘ with water, but a new creature.”

I will repeat the apostle’s discourse at large upon this
 subject, in the same chapter, because it is very instruct-
 ing, and seems decisive in this case: “ As many,”
 says he, “ as desire to make a fair shew in the *flesh*,
 “ they constrain you to be circumcised; only lest
 “ they should suffer persecution for the cross of
 “ Christ.” It seems they were *outside* people, that laid
 stress upon *outside* things, or something else instead of
 the cross of Christ; for they temporized in *this* matter,
 to shun the shame and persecution that then attended
 the Christian’s cross: which stood, partly, in *laying*
down of outward observations; and which they that
 desire to make a fair shew in the *flesh*, stand most *for*.
 But the apostle goes on; “ For,” says he, “ neither
 “ they themselves, who are circumcised, *keep* the law,
 “ but desire to have *you* circumcised, that they may

“glory in your flesh.” They were not exact in the *other* parts of the law, it seems, as strict as they seemed to be for this sacramental practice; which is the case of too many now: yet they pressed it, that they might glory, and value themselves upon gaining others to be conformable to them, whether to excuse their compliance with custom, that they might avoid persecution, or out of love to ceremonial religion.

“But,” says that clear-sighted and plain-dealing apostle, “God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.” If he rejoiced in *nothing*, but in the cross of Christ, then in *no other* elementary rite, service, or ordinance, any more than in circumcision,

But he proceeds: “For in Christ Jesus, neither circumcision *availeth* any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature.” That is to say, ‘For according to Christ Jesus, or in the *religion* of Christ Jesus, neither circumcision nor uncircumcision *availeth*, but a *new* creature, a *regenerate* soul; one born again by the Spirit of God:’ for the apostle, in these excellent words, not only strikes at circumcision, but *all* outward and elementary observations: neither this, nor that, *outward thing* *availeth* in the *Christian religion*, or according to *Christ Jesus*, but a *new creature*:’ he does not say, ‘*but water-baptism*,’ as some would have it, who tell us, that it *succeeds* circumcision, by divine institution: by no means! But that which *availeth* with Christ, and in the religion of Christ Jesus, is a *new* creature, a *new* man, one *changed*, *regenerated*, or born *again*, by the *word* and *baptism* of the *Holy Ghost*. “And,” says the apostle, to confirm them in this doctrine of *inward* circumcision, that is of the *heart*, in the *spirit*, (which is the same thing with the *baptism* of the Spirit) “As many as walk according to *this* rule, *peace* shall be upon them.” So that we, the poor despised *Quakers*, take comfort in this apostolical benediction, and can say, to God’s glory, his *peace* has *been upon us*, in our belief and confession of his blessed doctrine

doctrine of the *new creature*. It is what we have aimed at, and has been the great drift of our testimony since we were a people; and in order to it, we have directed all to the gift of God's grace in themselves, that by believing in it, and resigning up their wills and affections, and whole man, to the teaching and conduct of it, they may be leavened and sanctified by it, throughout; by which the *state* of the *new creature*, which is *Christianity indeed*, will be experienced; though it was, and is, a mystery to the *world*.

As for the apostle Peter's question, Acts x. 48. "Can any man forbid water, that these should not be baptized, which have received the Holy Ghost as well as we?" It imports, with submission, no more than this; that Peter, well knowing the narrowness of his countrymens spirits, was cautious lest his latitude should distaste them: for the *Gentiles* being *unholiness* to the *Jews*, and even Peter *himself*, without a vision from God, too narrow-spirited for the convictions and devotion of that excellent centurion Cornelius, it behoved him to ask, if any body had any thing to say, why *they* might not be baptized as well as the *Jews*, being profelytes to the Christian profession? In all which he seems more concerned to save his *own credit*, than to recommend, or establish, that of *water-baptism*. As if he had said, 'Why should this custom be forbidden to the *Gentiles* more than the *Jews*?' But this will not warrant the practice in general, because *practice* is no *institution*, and that there appears no *command* to make it one. So that asking, Who can *forbid*, what was not *commanded*, strengthens his question, instead of weakening it, since what was done of *condescension*, could not have been forbid upon *authority*. There needed not so much care or strictness in the matter. And indeed the apostles *themselves* seem not to have been so clear about the abolishing of the *Jewish observations*, as appears by the want Peter had of a *vision*, his own apprehension of the *straitness* of his brethren, and their calling him to account for what he had done, as may be seen in the same chapter.

But I confess I cannot see why the bishop should assume the power of unchristianizing us, for not practising of that which he himself practises so *unscripturally*, and that according to the sentiments of a considerable part of Christendom; having not *one* text of scripture, to prove, that *sprinkling of water in the face* was the water-baptism, or that *children* were the *subjects* of water-baptism, in the *first times*. And yet this is *all* the baptism the *bishop* practises, who seems so severe upon *us*. I think our *forbearing* of water-baptism, from a belief and sense of the coming of the invisible grace, signified by that visible *sign*, cannot be reputed *such* a slight to water-baptism, as presuming to *alter* the manner and substance of its first institution: for then it was in the river *Jordan*, now in a *basin*; it was then unto *repentance*, now, to children *incapable* of repentance. But that which perhaps misled the doctors of the *declining church* first into this practice, being at the distance of some hundreds of years from the apostolical times, might be the supposition that water-baptism came in the place of circumcision, and *that* being to *children*, so might water-baptism too. But they forgot (among other things, which, even before that time, were crept into the church, without precept, or evangelical example) that *repentance* was not made a condition to *circumcision*, as it *was* to water-baptism. I would beseech the bishop to tread softly in this matter; for if *water-baptism* should indeed prove a *badge* of *Christianity*, he would be at a loss for one that would pass current in scripture. Thus much for this point.

What I have said upon this head of water-baptism, may serve also for what is commonly called *the Lord's supper*, which the bishop reproves us for omitting to practise; urging Luke xxii, 19. "This do in remembrance of me;" and the apostle's words, 1 Cor. xi. 24, 25. It is true, indeed, Christ said, when he eat it with his disciples, "That they should do it in remembrance of him till he came." And this seems much more of the nature of a commission, than that
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cited by the bishop for water-baptism: but the *limitation* Christ gives to the *practice* of it, and a right and proper consideration of the *import* of his *words*, and the *nature* of the *thing*, will best lead us to understand his mind therein.

First, This was also a *Jewish practice*, as well as *water-baptism*, and so, in nature, of no *gospel* institution, but temporary in its use.

Secondly, Christ seems, by this, to break, or open to them, what was so hard for them to bear, to wit, his *departure* and *death*, by a token of memorial till he should come to them again.

Thirdly, Christ takes occasion from thence, to shew forth to his disciples the *mystical supper* they should eat, and the fellowship they should have with him, when he came again.

Now we believe this coming was *spiritual*, suitable to that saying of his, "I will drink no more of this fruit of the vine, till I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father: and some here shall not taste of death, till they see the Son of Man coming in his kingdom," Matt. xvi. 28. Again, "He that dwelleth with you, shall be in you," John xiv. "I in them, and they in me," chap. xvii. All which plainly imports a spiritual coming. Also Rev. iii. 20. "Behold I stand at the door and knock, if any man hear my voice, and open the door, I will come in to him, and will *sup* with him, and he with me," which was said near forty years after his ascension. Now since this is acknowledged to be an *outward sign* of an *inward* and *invisible grace*, what can outward bread and wine more properly signify and resemble, than an *inward supper*? And if so, the words may reasonably be read thus, 'Eat this supper of outward bread and wine, till I come into and sup with you, and be your supper, that am the bread and wine from *heaven*, which nourishes the *soul* unto eternal life.'

Fourthly, The kingdom of God being *spiritual*, and in the soul, *such* should be the *ordinances* of that kingdom.

dom. Now Christ tells the Pharisees, Luke xvii. 20. "The kingdom of God is *within*." And the apostle Paul, Rom. xiv. 17. saith, "The kingdom of God is not *meat* and *drink*, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost:" but the outward supper is *meat* and *drink*, and therefore not of the kingdom of God, which is *not* *meat* and *drink*, but righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost. And this was made use of by Christ, in the state of humiliation, before his death, and the pouring forth of the Holy Ghost, to fasten upon his disciples, that were *weak*, and of *little faith*, the remembrance of him, till they should know him *with* them, and *in* them, by his *spiritual* appearance (as he was "the Lord from heaven, "the quickening Spirit,") according to his promise. For if the scripture be consulted, we shall not only find that Christ *reproves* the apostles for their infidelity in him, but, after all the example, precepts, and miracles they saw by him, and that he had so very lately left them with such assurances of his coming to them *again*; yet when Mary, &c. brought them the tidings of his *resurrection*, it is said, Luke xxiv. 10, 11. "Their words seemed to the disciples as *idle tales*, and they "believed them *not*." Which sufficiently shews the *low state* they were in, or that at least they needed a *sign* or *token*, as that of the *supper*, to commemorate him. But this reason, which is yet *true*, does not credit its continuation; for when the *Spirit* was come, or Christ in his spiritual appearance, their eyes were opened, and they saw then it was the "Spirit that quickens, the flesh profiteth nothing." John vi. 63.

Fifthly, Most certainly Christ meant no less, when he preached himself "the Bread that came down from heaven," John vi. 31. to 52. and that they that would have life eternal, must "eat his flesh, and drink his blood;" that is, they must feed upon *spiritual* food; not the outward, but *inward* supper; the thing signified, and substance itself. For Christ opposes *himself*, "who is the Bread of God," to the bread their fathers eat in the wilderness, who were *dead*, which

was

was of an *elementary* nature: therefore it can never be, that *such* bread as *perisheth*, should be the bread of the *evangelical supper*, when Christ, by comparison, undervalues it to the bread he had to give them.

Sixthly, Our blessed Lord, Mark vii. 18. taught, "That it was not that which went *into* the man that *defileth* the man," because it went but into his *body*; and not into his *heart*: and if so, the argument is undeniable, that it is not that which goeth into the man, that is, into his body, and not into his heart, that *sanctifieth* the man: but *material* bread and wine goeth only into the *body*, and not into the *heart*; therefore they cannot *sanctify*. The import of Christ's words is plainly this, 'Meats and drinks neither *defile* nor *sanctify*; they neither benefit nor harm any one upon a *spiritual* account:' consequently *elementary* bread and wine cannot be the *evangelical supper*, but a *figure* of it, which is ended in *Christ*, the "Bread of God, that cometh down from heaven," John vi. 31, 32, 48, 49, 50. that a man may eat of, and not *die*; the substance of all shadows: for, saith the apostle, "The body is of Christ;" and where that is, our Lord tells us, Luke xiii. 37, "the eagles are gathered together:" where the apostle's wife men, 1 Cor. x. 15. seek for the true supper, which nourishes the soul unto eternal life.

Seventhly, But the bishop will have this supper four times repeated in the scripture of the New Testament, besides that of the apostle Paul; which must be his mistake—since there is no command to practise it beyond that very *time*, but in Luke xxii. 19. if there itself. For though his *eating* of the passover is there related, as also in Mark and Luke, it was but *once done*; and the command, "This do in remembrance of me," is only *once related* among the evangelists, as well as it is *once commanded*. And would we be strict with the bishop, we need not allow him that command to reach farther than the *present* time in which it was given; for "This do," or, "Take, eat," are equally in the *present* tense, "for thereby you *shew* forth my death."

“ death.” And the following words, viz. “ I will drink no more of *this* fruit of the vine, until that day when I drink it *new* with you in my Father’s kingdom,” Matt. xxvi. 29. farther explains it. Thus Mark has it, xiv. 25. “ Verily I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, until that day that I drink it *new* in the kingdom of God.” Luke xxii. 18. gives it thus, “ I say unto you, I will not drink of the vine till the kingdom of God *shall come*.” Now it is plain that Christ refers them to the *spiritual* supper, which we prefer and practise, and which is the supper *signified* by that of *outward* bread and wine, that was to serve *till* the kingdom of God *came*, and *then* he would communicate with them in a way *suitable* to his kingdom: which kingdom, as before said, is not *meat* and *drink*, but “ righteousness, peace, and joy in the Holy Ghost.” And as the same apostle has it, 1 Cor. iv. 20. “ The kingdom of God is not in *word*, but in *power* ;” of which power, and its coming from on high upon the apostles, read Acts i. 6, 7, 8.

For when they asked Christ, “ Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom again to Israel,” and that he told them, “ It was not for them to know the times or the seasons, which the Father had put into his own power ;” he also adds, “ But ye shall receive power after the Holy Ghost is come upon you, and ye shall be witnesses unto me; both in Jerusalem and Judea, and in Samaria, and in the uttermost parts of the earth.” This power was the kingdom of God, for it “ *stands in power*,” says the apostle: but it seems he thought fit to wave their question, as to a direct answer, and left it a secret to be revealed unto them, when the Holy Ghost should come, and the power from on high should fall upon them: and thus he takes his leave of them, and is immediately received by a cloud out of their sight.

Before I conclude this paragraph, I would observe, First, That it was the *passover*, and *custom* of the *Jews*, which, properly speaking, we conceive hath no just
plea

plea to continue as a *gospel-ordinance*, or institution, since it was a type of him to *come*, and therefore ended, as to institution, by his *coming*.

Secondly, That the evangelist John, the beloved disciple, that lay in the bosom of Christ, does not so much as mention it, or water-baptism, as left by Christ, to be *continued* by his followers. Concerning the *Spirit's* baptism, though he uses not the *word* baptism, he is very full, John 14th, 16th, and 17th chapters, where he tells them, "That he would send them " the Comforter, the Spirit of Truth, to lead them " into all truth, and that he would dwell with them " *for ever*." I say, it seems very improbable, if not incredible, that what the bishop stiles the 'Badges of 'Christianity,' in his 17th paragraph, should be wholly forgotten by so great an apostle of Christianity.

Thirdly, And as the beloved disciple says nothing of these *visible signs*, which the bishop calls the 'Badges 'of Christianity,' so neither are they made an *article* of any of the ancient creeds extant, which certainly does not make for their credit or authority: since, had they been of that importance they are now by some esteemed, we cannot think they would have been forgot by the compilers of those creeds.

Fourthly, The apostle Paul, though he repeats the *tradition* he received of the Lord's supper, that night he was betrayed, does not *injoin* it; but as often as the Corinthians *did it*, he tells them, they should do it in *remembrance* of Christ: which is as far from *commanding* it, as it would be, if the bishop should say to his friend, 'As often as he comes to *Cork*, he should come 'and *eat* with him,' an obligation upon that person to come *often* to *Cork*. So that though the apostle bids them, that as often as they *did it*, they should do it in remembrance of Christ, yet he does not thereby bid them do it *often*, if at all.

Fifthly, And whereas the bishop would make it a *fresh* revelation to the apostle, when he says, "For I " have received of the Lord, that which also I deli- " vered unto you," I must dissent from him. I can-
not

not apprehend that means any more than this, 'That what account he had *received* of Christ's eating the supper with his disciples, the night before he was betrayed, the same also he had delivered unto *them*:' for what need could there be of an *immediate revelation*, for so *late* a fact, so well witnessed by the disciples? But if my reader will peruse that part of the chapter which relates to the supper, he will find the stress lies upon "*remembering* of the *Lord*," which is, indeed, our daily, indispensable duty; and he that lives *without* it, may be said "to live without *God* in the world;" of which those Corinthians at that time seemed so insensible, and as such are severely reprov'd by the apostle, being *irreverent*, *greedy*, and *drunken*, hardly fit for the *sign*, and less able to discern the *thing signified*.

Sixthly, Nor does the apostle seem to recommend this practice, but rather reprehend the *abuse* of it: and if my reader will look back to the foregoing chapter, from the beginning to the 18th verse, he may find a more *spiritual* supper, and *mystical* bread and cup, hinted at by the apostle, as well as Mat. xxvi. 29. Rev. iii. 20. by our Lord Jesus Christ himself: which is, indeed, very copiously expressed by Luke, in the parable of the supper, chap. xiv. from the 16th to the 24th verse, where one that was at meat with Christ, speaking of the blessedness of eating of bread in the kingdom of God, Christ takes occasion to shew forth the *gospel-supper* by a parable, viz. "A certain man made a great supper, and bid many, but they refused, upon divers pretences, and came not: he sent out a second and third time to invite an inferior sort of guests, and they came to the supper," that is, they received the *gospel*, which is the power of God to salvation, and the evidence, as well as means, of it: which Christ in the 27th verse farther expresses thus, viz. "And whosoever doth not bear my cross, and follow me, cannot be my disciple." Now "the cross of Christ," the same apostle also says, "is the power of God," 1 Cor. i. 18. All which refers to

an *inward* and *spiritual* work, and supper, and that they who *receive* Christ in spirit, *sup* with him in spirit, being the partakers of his *spiritual supper*, which Christ promises, and prepares for all those that open, at his knocks, the door of their hearts unto him, Rev. iii.

Seventhly, But besides what I have said, both from scripture, and the nature of the thing, in proof of Christ's spiritual supper, and defence of our disuse of the visible *sign*, the bishop himself does the same thing, in relation to another ordinance: for our Lord Jesus Christ did as solemnly command his disciples to "wash one another's feet," as to 'eat the *supper*.' The passage is large and edifying, and I must recommend to my reader, to peruse his Bible, John xiii. But that part of it which more strictly concerns this point, between the bishop and me, I shall repeat here, verses 12, 13, 14, 15. "So after he had washed their feet, and taken his garments, and was set down again, he said unto them, Know ye what I have done to you? Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well; for so I am: if I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet: for I have given you an example that ye should do as I have done to you." Thus Christ commanded his disciples, not only by his authority, but example. Now does the bishop, and his friends, *follow* Christ's example, and *obey* this precept? He and they know they do not. What must I infer from thence, that the bishop is *no Christian*? I suppose he would take it very ill from me, though he has treated me, and my friends, after that sort. But I will shew him a better example, and suppose he thinks, that if Christian ministers and people walk *bumbly* towards God, and one with another, they *fulfil* this commandment, though they disuse the *sign*, by which the Lord Jesus expressed and recommended humility to his followers: now that which excuses the bishop, in reference to this ordinance of 'washing of feet,' will also excuse our disuse of the *supper*, viz. 'Our eating of the spiritual bread and wine of the kingdom; the
' thing

‘ thing *signified* by the outward supper.’ But it is an error incident to frail man, to prefer the practice of those things that have a shew of religion, and have least of uneasiness, and of the nature of the cross of Christ, in their performance. Just thus it is easier to receive the *supper*, than to be *bumble*, if not easier than to *wash feet*: for one is but a memorial of Christ, but the other, perhaps, is a reproach of the present practice, and, to be sure, a command to *mortification* and *self-denial*, the hardest lesson in religion. And who knows but for that reason it has been dropped so long; since it must be very uneasy for people to continue a custom, to which their daily practice is so visible a contradiction: though, I hear, the Roman bishop *mocks* the text once a year.

Eighthly, But in relation to the supper, we farther say, the practice is varied; then they *sat*; now one *sits*; another *walks*; a third *kneels*; a fourth *lies down* upon the *ground*, as in the East-countries. The Romans have one opinion, the Greeks another; and the Lutherans and Calvinists divide, to great bitterness, in their sentiments about it.

Ninthly, Again, in those days they were *disciples*, such as followed CHRIST; now *all* are admitted that profess *Christianity*, though they do *not* follow him, or forsake any thing for his name-sake, or keep any of his holy precepts, Matt. the 5th, 6th, and 7th chapters.

Tenthly, Nor is this all we have to say, to justify our disuse of this practice: it is too much *looked at*, and *relied upon*, by the people: and, indeed, is become a kind of *Protestant extreme unction*: for if the generality of them can but have it administered just before they die, they are apt to presume upon it for an acceptance in the other world. And, indeed, it is very frequent, if not natural, for many men to excuse their disobedience by *sacrifice*; and where ceremonies, or shadowy services, are continued, people rest upon the observance of them, and indulge themselves in the neglect of the doctrine of the *cross* of our Lord Jesus Christ. I need not look far, nor yet the bishop, for a
proof

proof of what I say; we can hardly miss, which way soever we throw our eyes, the more is the pity: and as this is no small abuse of primitive practice, so no small argument for our disuse of it. For when the *brazen serpent* was *over-valued* by the Jews, God, that had commanded it for their benefit, stirred up Hezekiah to destroy it.

Eleventhly, Besides, these things are become matter of *gain*, and made a *sacerdotal revenue*, not to say *merchandize*; which has also helped to scandalize people of tender consciences, who think it a profanation of religion, to suffer any part of it to be *excised* to the people, that ought to be *free*.

Twelfthly, But passing that by. at present, and supposing water-baptism and the supper were not antiquated, but still in force, who is there qualified to administer them? Who has received a commission, or the mind of the Holy Ghost, and power from on high to perform these things? For if those that hold they are in force, have no divine force or authority to qualify them to administer them, there will be but a lifeless imitation, instead of an edifying reality. Which leads me to what I promised long since, that I would, at the close of this discourse, say something of the 'true ground of our difference and dissent.'

I say then, that where we are supposed to differ most, we differ *least*; and where we are believed to differ least, we *most of all* differ: which I explain thus. It is generally thought, that we do not hold the common doctrines of Christianity, but have introduced new and erroneous ones in lieu thereof: whereas we plainly and entirely believe the truths contained in the creed, that is commonly called *The Apostles*; which is very comprehensive, as well as ancient. But that which hath affected our minds most, and engaged us in this separation, was the great carnality and emptiness, both of ministers and people, under their profession of religion: they having hardly "the *form* of "godliness," but, generally speaking, "denying the

“ power thereof;” from whom, the scripture warns believers to “ turn away.”

Next, *ministers* being made such, and *preaching*, and the people *worshipping*, without the *spirit*, confining the operations of it to the *first* or *apostolical* times, as if these did not want them as much, or that Christ would be less propitious, where his gifts were not less needful; I say, an human and lifeless ministry and worship, together with the great worldliness of professors, have occasioned our separation; and the persecution that has commonly followed it, hath abundantly confirmed our judgment in that matter. Hence it was we retired ourselves to wait upon God together, according to the gift of his Holy Spirit; and, as the apostle Paul exhorted the Athenians, Acts xvii. ‘ We felt after him (with our *souls*) if by any means we might find him, and hear what God the Lord would say unto us, who speaks peace unto his people, and his saints; but let them never turn to folly any more.’ We could not, I say, tell how to think that such as God had never sent, but ran of *themselves*, and were made ministers by human learning and authority, not knowing the work of the spirit to their *own* regeneration, could possibly profit, or edify the people unto *their* regeneration: and yet *that* is the very work and end of the true gospel-ministry; for no man can guide another in the way he himself never trod.

Besides, we apprehend the *ministry* was very much a *temporal preferment*, and therefore few were to be found among them, that did not court the *better places*, I mean those that gave the *greatest pay*, and by those methods mounted to *worldly wealth* and *honour*, as the rest of the world did: turning *alms* into *DUES*, and, by law, making *gifts* *RENTS*; and vexing those extremely, that, for conscience-sake, could not uphold them: which we thought very foreign to a primitive and apostolical spirit; and short of a *true* and *thorough* reformation. This is not said with any disrespect to their *persons*, or yet *calling*, simply considered; “ for he that desires the office of a bishop, certainly de-
“ fires

“fires a good thing;” but the *Holy Ghost*, in those days, had the *making* of them; and the “good thing” then was their *service*, and not *revenue*, or *worldly dignity*. They were then not only *no lords*, (ONE being their Lord) but they *lorded it not* over God’s *clergy* or *heritage*, which was the PEOPLE in those days, for so the word κλήρω signifies, though it is now ascribed to the *ministry*. Then, the ground of prophecy, or ministry, was the *revelation* of the *spirit*, in those ancient assemblies, as may be read, 1 Cor. xiv. 29, 30, 31, 32. “For *all* might *prophecy*,” that is, *preach*, as the spirit of God moved upon *their* spirit, and gave them utterance, both for reproof, instruction, and consolation: now, *study*, *collection*, and *memory*.

In those days they preached their *own experience* of the work of God upon their hearts; but most now preach of the experiences of others, recorded in scriptures, but according to their own and others human apprehensions. To be brief, we ground our conviction, conversion, ministry, prayer, and praise, upon the light and spirit of our Lord Jesus Christ, as the powerful and effectual spring of our religious performances, and that alone which prepares the soul, and enables it to perform those respective services and duties in a manner acceptable to God. And that ministry and worship which stands *not* in the *spirit*, and is not performed in the preparation and inspiration thereof, but according to the compilings, *traditions*, and *precepts of men*, we cannot allow to be primitive and evangelical, and consequently cannot join in them. And we are satisfied that it is the good-pleasure of God, that all who profess the name of his dear, and only begotten, and well-beloved Son, should acquaint themselves with the spirit of his Son in their own hearts, in its reproof, instruction, conviction and consolation, that they may become “*spiritually-minded*,” such as mind spiritual things more than earthly ones; and that daily “*sow to the spirit*,” that is, bring forth the fruits of the spirit, and become the children of God, who are led by the spirit of God. “Now

“ the fruit of the spirit is love, joy, peace, long-
 “ suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness,
 “ temperance: against such there is no law. And
 “ they that are Christ’s, have crucified the flesh, with
 “ the affections and lusts thereof. But the works of
 “ the flesh are manifest, which are these, adultery,
 “ fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry,
 “ witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath,
 “ strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murder, drun-
 “ kenness, revellings, and such like: of which I
 “ told you before, as also in time past, that they
 “ which do such things, shall not inherit the king-
 “ dom of God,” Rom. viii. 6. 14. Gal. v. 16, to 24.
 chap. vi. 7, 8. And under these marks and directions
 all people may examine themselves, and know their
 birth, family, and inheritance, whether they are the
 offspring of God, and true Christians, or children of
 the evil one: those that are born of the *spirit*, for
 whom is reserved “ an inheritance with the saints in
 “ light,” or the seed of evil-doers; for whom is re-
 served the “ blackness of darkness for ever.” And
 truly it seems just with God, that those who love dark-
 ness *better* than light in this world, should have their
fill of it in the next; from which, God Almighty re-
 deem thee, reader, that thou mayest walk in his blef-
 sed light, as *he* is in the light, then thou wilt have
 “ fellowship with the children of light, and the blood
 “ of Jesus Christ (the *great atonement*) shall cleanse
 “ thee from all sin,” 1 John i. 5, 6, 7. yea; “ from
 “ the filthiness both of flesh and spirit;” and being
 sanctified throughout, in body and spirit, thou mayest
 live to serve God in the newness of his holy spirit,
 Rom. vii. 6. and come to be made a new man; that
 is *another* man: from a *st* proud, an humble man; from
 a passionate, a patient man; from a rough, a meek
 man; and of a cruel, covetous, unjust, lascivious, in-
 temperate, vain and ungodly man; thou mayest become
 a merciful, liberal, just, chaste, sober, and godly man.
 And where this change, this new birth, or new crea-
 ture, is not known, sacrifices avail nothing, religion

is but formality, and the peace of God will never be their recompence of reward. But they that walk after this blessed unerring rule of the new covenant, "peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God," Gal. vi. 15, 16. "who are the circumcision made without hands, in putting off the body of the sins of the flesh, by the circumcision of Christ," Col. iii. 11. even that of the heart, in the spirit, "whose praise is not of men, but of God," Rom. ii. 29. And who, therefore, "Worship God in the spirit, and have no confidence in the flesh," Phil. iii. 3. that is, in fleshly ordinances, or the observation of figures and signs compounded of outward elements, which represent heavenly things: wherefore the apostle exhorted and commanded, Col. ii. 16, 17. "Let no man judge you in meat or in drink, or in respect of an holy-day, &c. which are shadows of things to come, but the body is of Christ;" that is, Christ is the *substance* of all outward representations, and they that have Christ, have the *end* of all those things: who, reader, we labour and pray, may be better known, received and obeyed, by the professors of his holy name and religion. That as he is given of God to be our priest, prophet, and king, we may all know, feel and enjoy him such in ourselves, and then the kingdom of God will be come in us, and his will done in our earth, as it is in heaven: which God grant, I most humbly beseech him.

For the conclusion of the bishop's paper, it is either *repetition* or *reflection*; the one needs no answer, and the other wants a defence. However, I will not have it said that I either wave or suppress it, and therefore without any reflection I will consider his: which should have no weight with my reader, but against him.

He says in his 12th paragraph, 'He pities us, thinking many of us harmless and well-meaning, but under the power of strong delusions.' And in his 13th paragraph he gives us his sense of the cause thereof, viz. 'That we make the light within, a rule of faith and practice, co-ordinate, if not superior and

' antecedent, to the holy scripture.' To prove which to be our sentiment, he cites these words out of our gospel-truths, where speaking of the Holy Spirit, and the scriptures, we say, "They are the double and " agreeing record of true religion." Now if the light and spirit *agree* with the scripture, there is no fear of *contradicting* the scripture, and so we can have nothing to answer for on our account of that expression; for what *agrees* with the scripture, *establishes* it, instead of *slighting* or *superfeding* the authority of it.

And though we used no such words as *co-ordinate*, much less *superior* and *antecedent*, (which is the bishop's gloss, to render our most true and inoffensive expression suspected, and make way to fasten his supposed *strong delusions* upon us) I will be very frank with him in this matter, that we believe the scripture to be the declaration of the *mind* of the Holy Ghost, and therefore not *superior* to the Holy Ghost, but credited, confirmed, and expounded *by* the Holy Ghost; so that without the illumination of it, the scripture cannot be understood by them that read it. The grammatical and critical sense of the words, and allusions therein, *may* be understood; but the *inside* and *spiritual signification* of them, is a riddle to those that are not *spiritually instructed* therein, though they were ever such grammarians or linguists.

Again, Christ says, "He that loves the light, brings " his deeds to the light, to see if they are wrought " in God," John iii. 21. which was before the New-Testament scripture was in *being*; and this makes it both *rule* and *judge* of the life and deeds of men. What says the bishop to this? Also John xiv. 15, and 16th chapters, Christ promises, "*The spirit* to lead " them, *his people*, into all truth," and this was not the scripture, but something at least *co-ordinate*, if not *superior* and *antecedent*, to the scripture, which is more than we said before. Also the apostle Paul tells the Romans, chap. viii. "That as many as are *led* by the " spirit of God, they are the sons of God:" then
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the spirit is to *lead* believers, or they cannot be the children of God. And that which leads, *rules*; and that which *rules*, is a *rule* to them that follow it. And the same apostle referred the Galatians, chap. vi. 15, 16. to the rule of the *new-creature* to walk by, and that must be the *spirit*, which *begets* the new creature, viz. "Christ formed in them," of whom he tells them, chap. iv. 19. He "travailed in birth again." And the beloved disciple expressly says to the Christians in his first epistle, chap. ii. 20. "That they had "an *unction* from the Holy One, and they knew all "things;" that is, all things they had to believe, know, and practise. And verse 27. he adds, "But "the anointing which ye have received abideth in "you, and ye need not that any man teach you, "but as the same anointing teacheth you of all "things, and is truth." If the bishop will break through all these scriptures, to undervalue the light and spirit of Christ (for no other light or spirit do we assert, recommend people to, or contend for) that he might render us guilty of 'strong delusions,' I cannot help it, but must be truly sorry for him. But I beseech him to have a care that he does not, like the Jews of old, undervalue, and indeed blaspheme against, the holy light and spirit of God, by mis-calling the fruits and effects of its power, 'strong delusions, and transformations of Satan:' for God will not hold such guiltless, in his great and terrible day of judgment.

And, after all, the best and first reformers and martyrs, as well as fathers, concur in our assertion and testimony: as Zuinglius, Luther, Melancthon, Calvin, Beza, Bucer, Peter Martyr, and Erasmus too: also our own excellent martyrs, viz. Lambert, Rogers, Philpot, Bradford, Hooper, Woodman, &c. 'That the 'double and agreeing testimony of the spirit of God 'within, and the scriptures of truth without, is the 'rule and judge of faith, doctrine and practice;' yea, 'That the spirit is given to believers, to be the *rule* 'and *judge*, by which they are to understand the true 'sense and meaning of the scriptures.' Now let the

reader judge who gives the truest honour to the scripture, the bishop, or the people called Quakers? *They*, that say, the scriptures have a *double* record, that is, the evidence of the spirit of truth in the hearts of believers, as well as their own: or the *bishop*, who, by his way of treating us, and our principle, will allow us no other evidence of their truth, but *themselves*? For to say, the evidence of the spirit of God, with that of the scripture, make a *double* and *agreeing* testimony, is, with him, 'to undervalue the scripture,' and the ground, in his apprehension, of our 'strong delusions.' It must be my turn to pity the bishop, and truly I do it with all my heart, to see him strain so found, as well as inoffensive an expression, as that which he makes the reason of our delusion, that he might have an occasion to lessen our credit with the professors of Christianity, and especially Protestants. Can it dishonour the scripture, to assert the evidence of the *principal* and *author* of the scripture, to back the *authority* of the scripture? Or doth not *be*, rather, lessen the authority of scripture, that will not allow us *another* evidence of the truth of scripture than its *own*, for fear of *co-ordinancy*, which was not so much as once intended to be insinuated by us, nor do the words import any such thing; yet it had been no *strong*, nor *any*, delusion at all, to give the Holy Ghost the *preference*. But I shall keep to the terms of the paper, whatever the bishop is pleased to do; knowing that whoever concludes an argument in terms not in the question, nor plainly deducible from the premises, is not a *fair* dealer in controversy: in which the bishop, if he pleases, may reasonably enough think himself more than once concerned.

Blessed be God, we have known the power and efficacy of this holy light and spirit of Christ in ourselves; and being in good measure witnesses thereof, we do not only speak by report, but by experience. We had the *scriptures*, in the days of our ignorance, and worldly-mindedness; but disregarding the reproofs and instruction of the *light* of *Jesus* in our *hearts*,

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we never could come to know the *power* of those truths the scripture *declares of*. But when it pleased God, in the riches of his love, to cause his blessed light, that had shined *in* darkness, and the darkness comprehended it not, to shine *out of* darkness, and give us the knowledge of himself in the *face* (or through the *manifestation*) of his Son Jesus Christ, we saw and bewailed ourselves, and, by an unfeigned sorrow and repentance, returned, as penitent prodigals, towards our father's house, and in this turn, we were brought to die daily to that love and satisfaction we once had in the glory, pleasures, honours, friendships and diversions of the world, which now became *burdensome*, more than ever they were pleasing to us.

Hence it was, and from no sinister ends or self-righteous conceits, that we became an altered and a distinguished people, in our behaviour, garb and conversation; more *retired, watchful, silent, and plain*, than formerly; equally avoiding *luxury and avarice*. I say, it was the work of God's spirit upon our hearts, who, by his light, gave us to see the just difference of things, and to distinguish between that which pleased him, and that which pleased him not. And this holy pattern he gave us in the light of his beloved Son, which we design to follow, as did the holy ancients; and is a full answer to the bishop's unfriendly queries upon our distinguishing behaviour, in his 14th and 15th paragraphs, as if it were not out of fear towards God, or upon a conscientious bottom, but to serve a worldly turn? For he asks us, 'Is it not your *main aim, end, and study*, by *pretended* mortifications, to make yourselves a party considerable?' Again, 'Are not to this purpose your different garb, speech, looks and gestures, and to make yourselves remarkable, rather than out of a sense of duty, or conscience of obligation?' Which, as it is the worst construction that the most irreligious and prophane could make upon our behaviour, so I beseech God to forgive the bishop, and make him sensible how little such treatment of strict and sober living advances the common cause

of religion, and how much it indulges those, that know no reins or check to their excesses, in his own church. But to go no farther than the *bishop* and his *clergy*, pray who distinguish themselves more by their *garb* from other people than *they*? Though I cannot say as much of their behaviour. So, indeed, did the *Chemarims*, or *Black-coats*, of old, and those that wore *long robes* in our Saviour's time; but, as I take it, they went not without his censure, while I think the bishop will find none in scripture against our plainness. But the bishop's pontifical robes, do, in my opinion, look much more like *singularity* and a *figh*t than ours; for our garb is like other mens, only freed of their superfluity. In short, I wish him a better understanding of the true grounds of our stricter conduct, and where and who they are that make a *trade* of religion; that if he has any shot left against *mercenary* religionists, he may not miss the mark next time, but may make it his *main aim, end, and study*, to expose hirelings and hypocrites in their proper colours: and some are of opinion he need not go far to find too many of them.

It is strange the bishop should be so insensible of the advantage he gives me by his *queries*, and what a wide door he opens to a severe retaliation; but I desire to be modest; and to be *silent* upon such advantages, is, I think, to be abundantly so.

Howbeit, I must take notice of one expression, for it may too seriously affect us not to be observed to him. When he asks, 'If it be not our main end and study, by pretended mortifications, to make ourselves a party considerable?' He adds, 'And such to which, for reasons of state, peculiar privileges must be indulged.' If this were not more than mockery, I should wave my notice; but calling the meaning of the government in question about the *liberty of conscience* we enjoy, he must forgive me if I bestow a few remarks upon that expression. It seems, then, our liberty flows not from the inclination of the government to liberty, less from compassion, and least of all from

from justice and a Christian principle. Which motives carry with them a prospect of the continuance of liberty, if not for liberty's sake. But the bishop believes no such thing; and if he would not have us of his mind, he did weakly to tell us so. Well, then, we are all of us to take his advertisement, that our liberty holds but by slender threads, and a *reason of state*, and not of nature, right, or Christianity; which certainly is not to bespeak this *considerable party* to the advantage of the government: and for which I think the bishop a very moderate statesman, and the government as little beholden to his *politicks*, as we are to his *charity*. However, we will have a better opinion of our superiors regard to liberty, and conclude that their inclination equals their discretion, and that their judgment, as well as prudence, is on that side, let the bishop say what he pleases. And though he deserves it not at my hands, I could almost persuade myself to think that he does not begrudge it us, and means not so loofely as he writes. But be it as it will, that God, that has upheld us by his free spirit to this day, through many and great afflictions, we firmly believe will suffer nothing to attend us, that shall not in the conclusion work for his glory and our good, if we continue steadfast to the end, in the blessed way of righteousness, wherein he has so often and signally owned and preserved us; notwithstanding the violence of open enemies, and the treacherous and restless endeavours of false friends.

His sixteenth paragraph multiplies reflection, as before observed, and repeats what I have already largely answered; particularly, that we own the Christian faith, which he makes us to wave, suppress, or at least not to confess; and have expressed it, even in the paper he has faulted so much of shortness, and that more fully, in all points, than in the creed commonly called the Athanasian; except that about the Trinity, which seems to me *less plain* by that *copious way* taken to explain it.

He also says, 'We reject all outward, positive parts of worship,' which we deny: for we own and use prayer, preaching, and praising, in the Spirit, *without* which they cannot be owned or joined with; for they cannot be so performed to edification by a true Christian worshipper; since God, who *is* a Spirit, will be *worshipped* in spirit, and in truth, which Christ's Spirit must enable us to perform: and such worshippers *only*, God the Father seeks to worship him: implying, he regards not *other* worshippers.

'But, especially,' the bishop says, 'we reject baptism and the supper.' We say, we do not *reject*, but *disuse* the signs, because we felt the *invisible* graces in our *souls* they were *signs* and *shadows* of; and therefore, not in *disrespect* to the *signs*, but in *reverence* to the *divine substance* they shew forth, we discontinue their *use* among us. They obtained place in the *infancy* and *twilight* of the church; in her more weak and ceremonious time, directing, as I may say, that *interregnum* between the law and the gospel, before the dispensation of the Holy Ghost had *fully* obtained place and pre-eminence in the church. But of this I have been already very particular.

He grows *warm* in his 17th paragraph, and *episcopal*; for he says, 'In a word, I again *require* you, as you will answer all your *secret arts* and *pretensions* at Christ's tribunal, *that you either embrace and profess the entire Christian truth*, in the points wherein I have shewn you to be defective; and that you receive the Christian *seals* or *badges*, *baptism*, and the *Lord's supper*; or else that you *desist* to lay claim to the name of Christians.'

But first I must return the bishop his *secret arts* and *pretensions*, in all which he is grievously mistaken. For either I do not understand his meaning, or I abhor it. Next, be it known to him, we *wave not*, we *suppress not*, but heartily embrace and profess, before the whole world, all points of Christian doctrine, according to the mind of the Holy Ghost, as I have amply signified

signified before upon this subject: and where the bishop takes leave of the text, he must excuse me if I leave *him*, to keep company with it. We did not entitle our paper "*All Gospel-Truths*," but "*Gospel-Truths*," which extended so far as we were taxed with error about those truths: and yet he must have but a little charity that will not allow a believer and follower of those truths to be a Christian. Nor, indeed, has the bishop given us the articles of faith he says we *wave* or *suppress*, or told us his *own*, or that *one church's* faith he would have us receive, as I have complained already. But that the bishop should forbid us so much as to lay claim to the name of *Christians*, unless we will practise what *he* calls the *seals* or *badges* of Christianity, (which *divers* churches in *Christendom* think he *misuses*) is very uncharitable and dogmatical. But, besides what I have said at large in our excuse and defence in that matter, he produces not one scripture that calls them either *seals* or *badges*. But yet there are other things that *are* so represented by our blessed Saviour and his apostles, which he takes no notice of. As Matt. xvi. 24. where, they that will be reputed Christ's disciples must take up his *cross*, and follow him. Christ's *cross* is a Christian's *badge* and *seal* of discipleship. Again, John xiii. 35. He said to his disciples, "By this shall all men know that ye are my disciples, if ye *love* one another." Likewise Matt. xxv. 34, 35, 36. The distinguishing character of the last day is not water-baptism and the outward supper, but *love, mercy, and compassion; bowels and charity*; not being *ashamed* or *afraid* of owning and helping the Lord's servants in their afflictions, viz. "I was an hungry, and ye gave me meat: I was thirsty, and ye gave me drink: I was a stranger, and ye took me in: naked, and ye clothed me: I was sick, and ye visited me: I was in prison, and ye came unto me." *This* is the Christian *badge* that will be recognized by our Lord Jesus Christ at the last day: we have his own word for it. In all which he is so far

far from mentioning either of the other badges, that Luke xiii. he brings in the *unhappy*, that are on his left-hand, using this argument to engage him to receive them into blessedness, viz. "We have *eaten* and "*drank* in thy presence, and thou hast taught in our "streets." A plain instance they had the use of such ordinances as the bishop reputes badges of Christianity; but it is as plain that such pleas would not do: for, behold, the Lord Jesus says unto them in the parable, "I know you not, depart from me, ye workers of "iniquity!" I recommend the perusal of the following verses to my reader, which confirm my sense of the text: for he spoke to an *outside* people, that counted themselves the people of God, and were observers of *meats* and *drinks*, and *divers washings*: and that which was doctrine and caution then, is doctrine and caution now; for truth holds the same to the end.

I might add, *holiness*, for a characteristick, "with-
"out which no man shall ever see the Lord;" and that "neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor "uncircumcision, but a new creature," Gal. v. 6. Also, the fruits of the Spirit, chap. 5. among which there is not one word about *water-baptism*, or the *outward supper*, with many more passages that are close and cogent.

His eighteenth and last paragraph tells us, 'He will 'not judge us,' and yet his whole paper is but one continued judgment of us: 'but, from *God*,' as he says, 'and, as *his* minister, he bids us judge ourselves.' First, We thank God we are before-hand with the bishop, having judged ourselves, and that by the judgment of God upon us, and so have right to judge others according to that judgment. Secondly, We have no proof that the bishop speaks from God to us: nor can I tell how he should, that does not acknowledge the inspeaking word of God in the soul. Thirdly, For his being God's minister, he has not shewn us his commission yet, and I fear it will not be from heaven, whenever he does. But if my reader will take
the

the pains of perusing this very paragraph, he will not only see a judging spirit, but that the bishop holds out abusing us to the last, rendering us as bad as bad can be, viz. ‘ That we subvert the faith once delivered ‘ to the saints, and equal our conceits to the divine ‘ oracles, using and disusing what parts of God’s instituted worship we please;’ adding, ‘ I will not interpose your making *gain* your godliness.’ But, as I have already taken ample notice of this charge, so I shall say no more of his irreligious slant at our sincerity than this, that I cannot pretend to tell the bishop what tribe of men, in Christendom, it is that have long made *gain* their godliness, and the pretence of it their worldly inheritance; since he has been so much more sensibly instructed in this affair than myself: but one thing I am sure of, that if *gain*, and not godliness, was our motive to be the people we are, we mightily mistook our *way* when we *left* the *bishop’s*: for *afflictions, spoils, prisons, banishments, yea, and death* itself, have attended us, since God was pleased to manifest his truth to us: and if, under all those calamities that have followed us since we were a people, for the sake of our unfashionable profession, the bishop, or any else, is so unnatural, as to envy us the blessing of God upon our honest industry, and to render that which is an effect of God’s goodness, the reason and end of our religion, God forgive them. I could enlarge upon this topick, but time would fail, and the discourse swell beyond bounds, as indeed it hath already, beyond my expectation; for which I should excuse myself to my reader, but that it was not simply from the regard I had to the bishop’s sheet, since that could not have deserved this notice from me, but might have been answered as concisely as that was written, had I only considered his undertaking and treatment, and not my reader’s satisfaction, in the better knowledge of our so much misrepresented persuasion: especially in a nation, where of late I had occasion so generally to travel, and the bishop’s paper hath been
been

been, I suppose, as generally dispersed. I owe it, therefore, to my profession, to myself, and to the country, to vindicate the one, and to express my Christian regard and acknowledgment to the other; having received a more than common civility from the inhabitants in general: to whom I wish, as to my own soul, the saving knowledge of the truth, as it is in Jesus: that Christians indeed, and at heart, they may be, to the glory of God their Creator, and the eternal salvation of their souls, through Jesus Christ, the alone Redeemer; to whom with the Father, by the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, thanksgiving, and praise, world without end.

THE
A D V I C E
OF
WILLIAM PENN
TO HIS
C H I L D R E N,
RELATING TO THEIR
CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS CONDUCT.

Published in the Year 1699.

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ADVICE TO CHILDREN.

CHAP. I.

My DEAR CHILDREN,

§. 1. **N**OT knowing how long it may please God to continue me amongst you, I am willing to embrace this opportunity of leaving you my advice and counsel, with respect to your Christian and civil capacity and duty in this world: and I both beseech you and charge you, by the relation you have to me, and the affection I have always shewn to you, and indeed received from you, that you lay up the same in your hearts, as well as your heads, with a wise and religious care.

§. 2. I will begin with that which is the beginning of all true wisdom and happiness, the holy fear of God.

Children, Fear God: that is to say, have an holy awe upon your minds to avoid that which is evil, and a strict care to embrace and do that which is good. The measure and standard of which knowledge and duty, is the light of Christ in your consciences, by which, as in John iii. 20, 21, you may clearly see if your deeds, aye, and your words and thoughts too, are wrought in God or not; for they are the deeds of the mind, and for which you must be judged: I say, with this divine light of Christ in your consciences, you may bring your thoughts, words, and works to judgment in yourselves, and have a right, true, sound, and unerring sense of your duty towards God and man. And as you come to obey this blessed light in its holy convictions, it will lead you out of the world's dark and degenerate ways and works, and bring you unto Christ's way and life, and to be of the number of his true self-denying followers, to take up your cross for his sake, that bore his for yours; and to become the children of the light,

putting it on, as your holy armour; by which you may see and resist the fiery darts of satan's temptations, and overcome him in all his assaults.

§. 3. I would a little explain this principle to you. It is called *light*, John i. 9. chap. iii. 19, 20, 21, and chap. viii. 12. Eph. v. 8, 13, 14. 1 Thes. v. 5. 1 Epistle of John i. 5, 6, 7. Rev. xxi. 23. because it gives man a sight of his sin. And it is also called the quickening *spirit*; for so HE is called; and the Lord from heaven, as 1 Cor. xv. 45, 57, who is called, and calls himself, the light of the world, John viii. 12. And why is he called the *Spirit*? Because he gives man spiritual life. And John xvi. 8, Christ promised to send his spirit to convince the world of their sins: wherefore that which convinces you and all people of their sins, is the Spirit of Christ: this is highly prized, Rom. viii. as you may read in that great and sweet chapter, for the children of God are led by it. This reveals the things of God, that appertain to man's salvation and happiness, as 1 Cor. ii. 10, 11, 12. It is the earnest God gives his people, 2 Cor. v. 5. It is the great end and benefit and blessing of the coming of Christ, viz. The shining forth of this light, and pouring forth of this spirit. Yea, Christ is not received by them, that resist his light and Spirit in their hearts; nor can they have the benefit of his birth, life, death, resurrection, intercession, &c. who rebel against the light. "God sent his Son to bless us, in turning us from the evil of our ways;" therefore have a care of evil, for that turns you away from God; and wherein you have done evil, do so no more: but be ye turned, my dear children, from that evil, in thought, as well as in word or deed, or that will turn you from God, your Creator, and Christ, whom he has given you for your Redeemer; who redeems and saves his people from their sins, Tit. ii. 14. not *in* their sins, read Acts ii. and Heb. viii. and the Christian dispensation will appear to be that of the Spirit, which sin quenches, hardens the heart against, and bolts the door upon. This holy divine principle is called *grace* too, 1 Tim. ii. 11, 12, there you

you will see the nature and office of it, and its blessed effects upon those that were taught of it in the primitive days. And why grace? Because it is God's love, and not our desert, his good-will, his kindness. "He so loved the world, that he gave his only begotten Son into the world, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life," John iii. 16. And it is this holy Son, that in John i. 14, 16. is declared to be "full of grace and truth," and that "of *his* grace we receive grace for grace;" that is, we receive of him, the FULLNESS, what measure of grace we need. And the Lord told Paul in his great trials, when ready to stagger about the sufficiency of the grace he had received to deliver him, "My grace is sufficient for thee." 2 Cor. xii. 9. O children, love the grace, hearken to this grace; it will teach you, it will sanctify you, it will lead you to the rest and kingdom of God; as it taught the saints of old, first, what to deny, viz. "To deny ungodliness and worldly lusts;" and then what to do, viz. "To live soberly, righteously, and godly in this present world," Tit. ii. 11, 12. And he that is full of grace, is full of light; and he that is full of light is the quickening Spirit, that gives a manifestation of his Spirit to every one to profit with, 1 Cor. xii. 7. And he that is the quickening Spirit, is the truth. "I am the way, the truth, and the life," said he, to his poor followers, John xiv. 6. "And if the truth make you free," said he to the Jews, "then are you free indeed," John viii. 32, 36. And this truth sheds abroad itself in man, and begets truth in the inward parts, and makes false, rebellious, hypocritical man, a true man to God again. Truth in the inward parts is of great price with the Lord. And why called TRUTH? Because it tells man the truth of his spiritual state; it shews him his state, deals plainly with him, and sets his sins in order before him. So that, my dear children, the light, spirit, grace, and truth are not divers principles, but divers words, or denominations, given to one eternal POWER and heavenly PRINCIPLE *in* you, though not *of* you, but of

God, according to the manifestation or operation thereof in the servants of God of old time: light, to discover and give discerning: spirit, to quicken and enliven: grace, to wit, the love of God: truth, because it tells man the truth of his condition, and redeems him from the error of his ways: so that as darkness, death, sin, and error, are the same; light, spirit, grace, and truth, are the same.

§. 4. This is that which is come by Christ, and a measure of this light, spirit, grace, and truth, is given to every man and woman to see their way to go by. This is that which distinguishes friends from all other societies, as they are found walking in the same, which leads out of vain honours, compliments, lusts, and pleasures of the world.

O, my dear children, this is the pearl of price; part with all for it, but never part with it for all the world. This is the gospel leaven, to leaven you, that is, sanctify and season you in body, soul, and spirit, to God your heavenly Father's use and service, and your own lasting comfort. Yea, this is the divine and incorruptible seed of the kingdom; of which all truly regenerate men and women, Christians of Christ's making, are born. Receive it into your hearts, give it room there, let it take deep root in you, and you will be fruitful unto God in every good word and work. As you take heed to it, and the holy enlightenings and motions of it, you will have a perfect discerning of the spirit of this world, in all its appearances, in yourselves and others; the motions, temptations, and workings of it, as to pride, vanity, covetousness, revenge, uncleanness, hypocrisy, and every evil way; you will see the world in all its shapes and features, and you will be able to judge the world by it, and the spirit of the world, in all its appearances: you will see, as I have done, that there is much to deny, much to suffer, and much to do: and you will see that there is no power or virtue, but in the light, spirit, grace, and truth of Christ, to carry you through the world to God's glory and your everlasting peace. Yea, you will see what religion is from
above,

above, and what is from below; what is of God's working, and of man's making and forcing; also what ministry is of his Spirit and giving, and what of man's studying, framing, and imposing. You will, I say, discern the rise, nature, tokens and fruits of the true from the false ministry, and what worship is spiritual, and what carnal; and what honour is of God, and what that honour is which is from below, of men, yea, fallen men, that the Jews and the world so generally love, and which is spoken against in John v. 44. You will see the vain and evil communication, that "corrupts good manners;" the snares of much company and business, and especially the danger of the friendship of this present evil world. And you will also see, that the testimony the eternal God hath brought our poor friends unto, as to religion, worship, truth-speaking, ministry, plainness, simplicity, and moderation, in apparel, furniture, food, salutation, as you may read in their writings, from the very beginning, is a true and heavenly testimony of his mind, will, work, and dispensation in this last age of the world to mankind, being the revival of true primitive Christianity: where your most tender father prays that you may be kept, and charges you to watch, that you may be preserved in the faith and practice of that blessed testimony; and count it no small mercy from God, nor honour to you, that you come of parents that counted nothing too dear or near to part with, nor too great to do or suffer, that they might approve themselves to God, and testify their love to his most precious truth in the inward parts, in their generation. And I do also charge you, my dear children, to retain in your remembrance those worthy ancients in the work of Christ, which remained alive to your day and memory, and yet remain to your knowledge; more especially that man of God, and prince in Israel, the first-born and begotten of *our* day and age of truth, and the first and the great early instrument of God amongst us, George Fox: and what you have heard, seen and observed, of those heavenly worthies, their holy wisdom, zeal, love,

labours, and sufferings, and particular tenderness to you, treasure up for your children after you, and tell them what you have heard, seen, and known, of the servants and work of God, and progress thereof, as an holy, exemplary, and edifying tradition unto them. And be sure that you forsake not the assembling yourselves with God's people, as the manner of some was, Heb. x. 25, and is at this day, especially among young people, the children of some friends, whom the love of this present evil world hath hurt and cooled in their love to God and his truth. But do you keep close to meetings, both for worship and business of the church, when of an age and capacity proper for it; and that not out of novelty, formality, or to be seen of men, but in pure fear, love, and conscience to God, your Creator, as the publick, just, and avowed testimony of your duty and homage to him. In which be exemplary, both by timely coming, and a reverent and serious deportment during the assembly; in which be not weary, or think the time long till it be over, as some did of the sabbaths of old time; but let your eye be to him you come to wait upon and serve, and do what you do as to him, and he will be your refreshment and reward; for you shall return with the seals and pledges of his love, mercy, and blessings.

§. 5. Above all things, my dear children, as to your communion and fellowship with friends, be careful to keep the unity of the faith in the bond of peace. Have a care of reflectors, detractors, backbiters, that undervalue and undermine brethren behind their backs, or slight the good and wholesome order of truth, for the preserving things quiet, sweet, and honourable in the church. Have a care of novelties, and airy changeable people, the conceited, censorious, and puffed up, who at last have always shewn themselves to be clouds without rain, and wells without water, that will rather disturb and break the peace and fellowship of the church, where they dwell, than not have their wills and ways take place, I charge you, in the fear of the living God, that you carefully beware of all such: mark them, as the apostle says, Rom. xvi. 17, and
have

have no fellowship with them; but to advise, exhort, intreat, and finally reprove them, Eph. v. 11. For God is, and will be, with his people in this holy dispensation we are now under, and which is now amongst us, unto the end of days: it shall grow and increase in gifts, graces, power, and lustre, for it is the last and unchangeable one: and blessed are your eyes, if they see it, and your ears if they hear it, and your hearts if they understand it; which I pray that you may, to God's glory, and your eternal comfort.

§. 6. Having thus expressed myself to you, my dear children, as to the things of God, his truth and kingdom, I refer you to his light, grace, spirit, and truth within you, and the holy scriptures of truth without you, which from my youth I loved to read, and were ever blessed to me; and which I charge you to read daily; the OLD TESTAMENT, for history chiefly; the PSALMS, for meditation and devotion; the PROPHETS, for comfort and hope, but especially the NEW TESTAMENT, for doctrine, faith, and worship: for they were given forth by holy men of God in divers ages, as they were moved of the holy Spirit; and are the declared and revealed mind and will of the holy God to mankind under divers dispensations, and they are certainly able to make the man of God perfect, through faith, unto salvation; being such a true and clear testimony to the salvation that is of God, through Christ, the second Adam, the light of the world, the quickening Spirit, who is full of grace and truth; whose *light, grace, spirit, and truth*, bear witness to *them*, in every sensible soul; as *they* frequently, plainly, and solemnly, bear testimony to the light, spirit, grace and truth, both in *himself*, and in and to his *people*, to their sanctification, justification, redemption, and consolation; and in *all* men, to their visitation, reproof, and conviction in their evil ways. I say, having thus expressed myself in general, I refer you, my dear children, to the light and spirit of Jesus, that is *within* you, and to the scriptures of truth *without* you, and such other testimonies to the one same eternal truth as have been borne in our day;

and

and shall now descend to particulars, that you may more directly apply what I have said in general, both as to your religious and civil direction in your pilgrimage upon earth.

C H A P . II.

§. 1. **I** Will begin here, also, with the beginning of time, the morning: so soon as you wake, retire your mind into a pure silence from all thoughts and ideas of worldly things, and in that frame wait upon God, to feel his good presence to lift up your hearts to him, and commit your whole self into his blessed care and protection. Then rise, if well, immediately: being drest, read a chapter, or more in the scriptures, and afterwards dispose yourselves for the business of the day; ever remembering that God is present, the overseer of all your thoughts, words, and actions; and demean yourselves, my dear children, accordingly; and do not you dare to do that in his holy all-seeing presence, which you would be ashamed a man, yea, a child, should see you do. And as you have intervals from your lawful occasions, delight to step home, within *yourselves*, I mean, and commune with your own hearts, and be still; and, as Nebuchadnezzar said on another occasion, “*One like the Son of God,*” you shall find and enjoy, ‘*with you and in you: a treasure the world knows not of, but is the aim, end, and diadem of the children of God.*’ This will bear you up against all temptations, and carry you sweetly and evenly through your day’s business, supporting you under disappointments, and moderating your satisfaction in success and prosperity. The evening come, read again the holy scripture, and have your times of retirement, before you close your eyes, as in the morning; that so the Lord may be the alpha and omega of every day of your lives. And if God bless you with families, remember good Joshua’s resolution, Josh. xxiv. 15.
“ But

“ But as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord.”

§. 2. Fear God; shew it in desire, refraining, and doing: keep the inward watch, keep a clear soul and a light heart. Mind an inward *sense* upon doing any thing: when you read the scripture, remark the notablest places, as your spirits are most touched and affected, in a common-place book, with that sense, or opening, which you receive; for they come not by study, or in the will of man, no more than the scripture did; and they may be lost by carelessness, and overgrowing thoughts and businesses of this life: so in pursuing any other good or profitable book: yet rather meditate, than read much. For the Spirit of a man knows the things of a man; and with that spirit, by observation of the tempers and actions of men you see in the world, and looking into your own spirit, and meditating thereupon, you will have a deep and strong judgment of men and things. For from what may be, what should be, and what is most probable or likely to be, you can hardly miss in your judgment of human affairs; and you have a *better* Spirit than your own, in reserve for a time of need, to pass the final judgment in important matters.

§. 3. In conversation, mark well what others say or do, and hide your own mind, at least till last; and then open it as sparingly as the matter will let you. A just observance and reflection upon men and things, gives wisdom; those are the great books of learning, seldom read. The laborious bee draws honey from every flower. Be always on your watch, but chiefly in company; then be sure to have your wits about you, and your armour on: speak last and little, but to the point. Interrupt none, anticipate none, read Prov. x. 8, 13. “ Be quick to hear, slow to speak,” Prov. xvii. 27. It gives time to understand, and ripens an answer. Affect not words, but matter; and chiefly to be pertinent and plain: truest eloquence is plainest; and brief speaking (I mean, brevity and clearness, to make yourselves easily

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easily understood by every body, and in as few words as the matter will admit of) is the best.

§. 4. Prefer the aged, the virtuous, and the knowing; and chuse those that excel for your company and friendship; but despise not others.

§. 5. Return no answer to any, unless with much meekness, which often turns it away: but rarely make replies, less rejoinders; for that adds fuel to the fire. It is a wrong time to vindicate yourselves, the true ear being then never open to hear it. Men are not themselves, and know not well what spirits they are of: silence to passion, prejudice and mockery, is the best answer, and often conquers what resistance inflames.

§. 6. Learn, and teach your children, fair writing, and the most useful parts of mathematicks; and some business when young, whatever else they are taught.

§. 7. Cast up your income, and live on half; if you can, one third; reserving the rest for casualties, charities, portions.

§. 8. Be plain in clothes, furniture and food, but clean; and then the coarser the better; the rest is folly, and a snare. Therefore next to sin, avoid daintiness and choiceness about your person and houses. For if it be not an evil in itself, it is a temptation to it; and may be accounted a nest for sin to brood in.

§. 9. Avoid differences: what are not avoidable, refer; and keep awards strictly, and without grudgings. Read Prov. xviii. 17, 18. xxv. 8. Matt. v. 38 to 41. 1 Cor. i. 10, to 13. It is good counsel.

§. 10. Be sure draw your affairs into as narrow a compass as you can, and in method and proportion, time, and other requisites proper for them.

§. 11. Have very few acquaintance, and fewer intimates, but of the best in their kind.

§. 12. Keep your own secrets, and do not covet others: but if trusted, never reveal them, unless mischievous to somebody; nor then, before warning to the

the party to desist and repent. Prov. xi. 13. c. ii. 23. c. xxv. 9. 10.

§. 13. Trust no man with the main chance, and avoid to be trusted.

§. 14. Make few resolutions, but keep them strictly.

§. 15. Prefer elders and strangers on all occasions: be rather last, than first, in conveniency and respect; but first, in all virtues.

§. 16. Have a care of trusting to after-games, for then there is but one throw for all; and precipices are ill places to build upon. Wisdom gains time, is before-hand, and teaches to chuse seasonably and pertinently; therefore ever strike while the iron is hot. But if you lose an opportunity, it differs, in this, from a relapse; less caution, and more resolution and industry, must recover it.

§. 17. Above all, remember your Creator; remember yourselves and your families, when you have them, in the youthful time and fore-part of your life; for good methods and habits obtained then, will make you easy and happy the rest of your days. Every estate has its snare: youth and middle-age, PLEASURE and AMBITION; old-age, AVARICE. Remember, I tell you, that man is a slave where either prevails. Beware of the pernicious lusts of the eye, and the flesh, and the pride of life, 1 John ii. 15, 16, 17. which are not of the Father, but of the world. Get higher and nobler objects for your immortal part, O my dear children, and be not tied to things without you; for then you can never have the true and free enjoyment of yourselves to better things; no more than a slave in *Algiers* has of his house or family in *London*. Be free, live at home, in yourselves I mean, where lie greater treasures hid than in the *Indies*. The pomp, honour, and luxury of the world, are the cheats, and the unthinking and inconsiderate are taken by them. But the retired man is upon higher ground, he sees and is aware of the trick, contemns the folly, and bemoans the deluded. This very consideration, doubtless, produced those two passions in the two greatest
Gentiles

Gentiles of their time, Democritus and Heraclitus, the one laughing, the other weeping, for the madness of the world, to see so excellent and reasonable a creature as man, so meanly trifling and slavishly employed.

§. 18. Chuse *God's* trades before *mens*. Adam was a gardener, Cain a plowman, and Abel a grazier or shepherd: these began with the world, and have least of snare, and most of use. When Cain became *murderer*, as a * witty man said, he turned a builder of *cities*, and quitted his *husbandry*. Mechanics, as handicrafts, are also commendable; but they are but a second brood, and younger brothers. If *grace* employ you not, let *nature* and *useful arts*; but avoid curiosity there also, for it devours much time to no profit. I have seen a *cieling* of a room, that cost half as much as the *bouffe!* a folly, and sin too.

§. 19. Have but few books, but let them be well chosen, and well read, whether of religious or civil subjects. Shun fantastick opinions: measure both religion and learning by practice; reduce all to that, for that brings a real benefit to you, the rest is a thief and a snare. And, indeed, reading many books is but a taking off the mind too much from meditation. Reading yourselves and nature, in the dealings and conduct of men, is the truest human wisdom. The spirit of a man knows the things of a man; and more true knowledge comes by meditation and just reflection, than by reading; for much reading is an oppression of the mind, and extinguishes the natural candle; which is the reason of so many senseless scholars in the world.

§. 20 Do not that which you blame in another. Do not that to another, which you would not another should do to you. But above all, do not that in God's sight, you would not man should see you do.

§. 21. And that you may order all things profitably, divide your day; such a share of time for your

* Cowley, in his Works on Agriculture.

retirement and worship of God; such a proportion for your business; in which remember to ply that first which is first to be done; so much time for yourselves, be it for study, walking, visit, &c. In this be first, and let your friends know it, and you will cut off many impertinencies and interruptions, and save a treasure of time to yourselves, which people most unaccountably lavish away. And to be more exact, (for much lies in this) keep a short journal of your time, though a day require but a line; many advantages flow from it.

§. 22. Keep close to the meetings of God's people, wait diligently at them, to feel the heavenly life in your hearts. Look for that, more than words in ministry, and you will profit most. Above all, look to the Lord; but despise not instruments, man or woman, young or old, rich or poor, learned or unlearned.

§. 23. Avoid discontented persons, unless to inform or reprove them. Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.

§. 24. Excuse faults in others, own them in yourselves, and forgive them against yourselves, as you would have your heavenly Father and judge forgive you. Read Prov. xvii. 9. and Mat. vi. 14, 15. Christ returns and dwells upon that passage of his prayer above all the rest, forgiveness, the hardest lesson to man, that of all other creatures most needs it.

§. 25. Be natural; love one another; and remember, that to be void of natural affection, is a mark of apostacy set by the apostle, 2 Tim. iii. 3. Let not time, I charge you, wear out nature; it may kindred, according to custom, but it is an ill one, therefore follow it not. It is a great fault in families at this day: have a care of it, and shun that unnatural carelessness. Live as near as you can, visit often, correspond oftener, and communicate with kind hearts to one another, in proportion to what the Lord gives you; and do not be close, nor hoard up from one another, as if you had no right or claim in one another, and did not descend of one most tender father and mother.

§. 26. What

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§. 26. What I write is to yours, as well as you, if God gives you children. And in case a prodigal should ever appear among them, make not his folly an excuse to be strange or close, and so to expose such an one to more evil: but shew bowels, as * John did to the young man that fell into ill company, whom with love he reclaimed, after his example that sends his sun and rain upon all.

§. 27. Love silence, even in the mind; for thoughts are to that, as words to the body, troublesome: much speaking, as much thinking, spends; and in many thoughts, as well as words, there is sin. True silence is the rest of the mind; and is to the spirit, what sleep is to the body, nourishment and refreshment. It is a great virtue; it covers folly, keeps secrets, avoids disputes, and prevents sin. See Job xiii. 5. Prov. x. 19. chap. xii. 13. chap. xiii. 3. chap. xviii. 6, 7. chap. xvii. 28.

§. 28. The wisdom of nations lies in their proverbs, which are brief and pithy: collect and learn them, they are notable measures and directions for human life: you have much in little; they save time and speaking; and, upon occasion, may be the fullest and safest answers.

§. 29. Never meddle with other folks business, and less with the public, unless called to the one by the parties concerned (in which move cautiously and uprightly) and required to the other by the Lord, in a testimony for his name and truth; remembering that old, but most true and excellent proverb, *Bene qui latuit, bene vixit*, 'He lives happily, that lives hid-
'denly or privately,' for he lives quietly. It is a treasure to them that have it: study it, get it, keep it; too many miss it that might have it: the world knows not the value of it. It doubles man's life, by giving him twice the time to himself, that a large acquaintance, or much business, will allow him.

* Euseb. Ecc. Hist. Lib. 3. cap. xxiii.

§. 30. Have

§. 30. Have a care of resentment, or taking things amiss; a natural, ready, and most dangerous passion: but be apter to remit than resent; it is more Christian and wise. For as softness often conquers, where rough opposition fortifies; so resentment, seldom knowing any bounds, makes many times greater faults than it finds: for some people have out-resented their wrong so far, that they made themselves faultier by it; by which they cancel the debt, through a boundless passion, overthrow their interest and advantage, and become debtor to the offender.

§. 31. Rejoice not at the calamity of any, though they be your enemies, Prov. xvii. 5. chap. xxiv. 17.

§. 32. Envy none; it is God that maketh rich and poor, great and small, high and low, Psalm xxxvii. 1. Prov. iii. 31. chap. xxiii. 17. chap. xxiv. 1. 1 Chron. xxii. 11, 12. Psalm cvii. 40, 41.

§. 33. Be intreatable. Never aggravate. Never revile or give ill names: it is unmannerly, as well as unchristian. Remember Mat. v. 22. who it was said, "He that calls his brother fool, is in danger of hell-fire."

§. 34. Be not morose, or conceited: one is rude, the other troublesome and nauseous.

§. 35. Avoid questions and strife: it shews a busy and contentious disposition.

§. 36. Add no credit to a report upon conjecture, nor report to the hurt of any. See Exod. xxiii. 1. Psalm xv. 3.

§. 37. Beware of jealousy, except it be godly; for it devours love and friendship; it breaks fellowship, and destroys the peace of the mind. It is a groundless and evil surmise.

§. 38. Be not too credulous. Read Prov. xiv. 5. Caution is a medium; I recommend it.

§. 39. Speak not of religion, neither use the name of God, in a familiar manner.

§. 40. Meddle not with government; never speak of it; let others say or do as they please. But read such books of law as relate to the office of a justice, a coroner,

ner, sheriff, and constable; also, "the doctor and student;" some book of clerkship, and a Treatise of Wills, to enable you about your own private business only, or a poor neighbour's. For it is a charge I leave with you and yours, 'Meddle not with the publick, neither business nor money; but understand how to avoid it, and defend yourselves, upon occasion, against it.' For much knowledge brings sorrow, and much doings more. Therefore know God, know yourselves; love home, know your own business, and mind it, and you have more time and peace than your neighbours.

§. 41. If you incline to marry, then marry your inclination rather than your interest: I mean, what you love, rather than what is rich. But love for virtue, temper, education, and person, before wealth, or quality, and be sure you are beloved again. In all which be not hasty, but serious; lay it before the Lord, proceed in his fear, and be you well advised. And when married, according to the way of God's people, used amongst friends, out of whom only chuse, strictly keep covenant: avoid occasion of mis-understanding, allow for weaknesses, and variety of constitution and disposition, and take care of shewing the least disgust or mis-understanding to others, especially your children. Never lie down with any displeasure in your minds, but avoid occasion of dispute and offence; overlook and cover failings. Seek the Lord for one another; wait upon him together, morning and evening, in his holy fear, which will renew and confirm your love and covenant: give way to nothing that would in the least violate it: use all means of true endearment, that you may recommend and please one another; remembering your relation and union is the figure of Christ's to his church: therefore let the authority of love only bear sway your whole life.

§. 42. If God give you children, love them with wisdom, correct them with affection: never strike in passion, and suit the correction to their age as well as fault. Convince them of their error, before you chastise them; and try them, if they shew remorse, before severity; never

never use that, but in case of obstinacy or impenitency. Punish them more by their understandings than the rod, and shew them the folly, shame, and undutifulness of their faults rather with a grieved than an angry countenance, and you will sooner affect their natures, and with a nobler sense, than a servile and rude chastisement can produce. I know the methods of some are severe corrections for faults, and artificial praises when they do well, and sometimes rewards: but this course awakens passions worse than their faults; for one begets base fear, if not hatred; the other pride and vain glory; both which should be avoided in a religious education of youth; for they equally vary from it, and deprave nature. There should be the greatest care imaginable, what impressions are given to children: that method which earliest awakens their understandings to love, duty, sobriety, just and honourable things, is to be preferred. Education is the stamp parents give their children; they pass for that they breed them, or less value, perhaps, all their days. The world is in nothing more wanting and reproveable, both in precept and example; they do with their children as with their souls, put them out at livery for so much a year. They will trust their estates or shops with none but themselves; but for their souls and posterity, they have less solicitude. But do you breed your children yourselves, I mean as to their morals, and be their bishops and teachers in the principles of conversation: as they are instructed, so they are likely to be qualified, and your posterity by their precepts and examples, which they receive from yours. And were mankind herein more cautious, they would better discharge their duty to God and posterity; and their children would owe them more for their education than for their inheritances. Be not unequal in your love to your children, at least in the appearances of it: it is both unjust and indiscreet: it lessens love to parents, and provokes envy amongst children. Let them wear the same clothes, eat of the same dish, have the same allowance as to time and expence. Breed them to some employment, and give all equal but the eldest; and to

the eldest a double portion is very well. Teach them also frugality, and they will not want substance for their posterity. A little beginning, with industry and thrift, will make an estate; but there is great difference between saving and fordid. Be not scanty, any more than superfluous; but rather make bold with yourselves, than be strait to others; therefore let your charity temper your frugality and theirs.

What I have writ to you, I have writ to your children, and theirs.

§. 43. Servants you will have, but remember, the fewer the better, and those rather aged than young: you must make them such, or dispose of them often. Change is not good; therefore chuse well, and the rather because of your children; for children, thinking they can take more liberty with servants than with their parents, often chuse the servants company, and if they are idle, wanton, ill examples, children are in great danger of being perverted. Let them, therefore, be friends, and such as are well recommended: let them know their business, as well as their wages; and as they do the one, pay them honestly the other. Though servants, yet remember they are brethren in Christ, and that you also are but stewards, and must account to God. Wherefore, let your moderation appear unto them, and that will provoke them to diligence for love, rather than fear, which is the truest and best motive to service. In short, as you find them, so keep, use, and reward them, or dismiss them.

§. 44. Distrust is of the nature of jealousy, and must be warily entertained upon good grounds, or it is injurious to others, and instead of safe, troublesome to you. If you trust little, you will have but little cause to distrust. Yet I have been often whispered in myself of persons and things at first sight and motion, that hardly ever failed to be true; though by neglecting the sense, or suffering myself to be argued or importuned from it, I have more than once failed of my expectation. Have therefore a most tender and nice regard to those first sudden and unpremeditated sensations.

§. 45. For

§. 45. For your conduct in your business, and in the whole course of your life, though what I have said to you, and recommended you to, might be sufficient; yet I will be more particular as to those good and gracious qualifications I pray God Almighty to season and accomplish you with, to his glory, and your temporal and eternal felicity.

C H A P. III.

§. I. **B**E HUMBLE. It becomes a creature, a depending and borrowed being, that lives not of itself, but breathes in another's air, with another's breath, and is accountable for every moment of time, and can call nothing its own, but is absolutely a tenant at will of the great Lord of heaven and earth. And of this excellent quality you cannot be wanting, if you dwell in the holy fear of the omnipresent and all-seeing God: for that will shew you your vileness, and his excellency; your meanness, and his majesty; and, withal, the sense of his love to such poor worms, in the testimonies he gives of his daily care, mercy, and goodness; that you cannot but be abased, laid low, and humble. I say, the fear and love of God begets humility, and humility fits you for God and men. You cannot step well amiss, if this virtue dwell but richly in you; for then God will teach you. "The humble he teacheth his ways," and they are all pleasant and peaceable to his children: yea, "he giveth grace to the humble, but resisteth the proud," Jam. iv. 6. 1 Pet. v. 5. "He regardeth the proud afar off," Psalm cxxxviii. 6. "They shall not come near him, nor will he hear them in the day of their distress." Read Prov. xi. 2. chap. xv. 33. chap. xvi. 18, 19. Humility seeks not the last word, nor first place; she offends none, but prefers others, and thinks lowly of herself; is not rough or self-conceited, high, loud, or domineering: blessed are they that enjoy her. "Learn of me," said Christ, "for I am meek, and lowly in heart." He

washed his disciples feet, John xiii. Indeed himself was the greatest pattern of it. "Humility goes before honour," Prov. xviii. 12. There is nothing shines more clearly through Christianity than humility; of this the holy author of it is the greatest instance. He was humble in his incarnation; for he that thought it no robbery to be equal with God, humbled himself to become a man; and many ways made himself of no reputation. As first, In his birth, or descent, it was not of the princes of Judah, but a virgin of low degree, the espoused of a carpenter; and so she acknowledges, in her heavenly anthem, or ejaculation, Luke i. 47, 48, 52, speaking of the great honour God had done her: "And my Spirit hath rejoiced in God my Saviour, for he hath regarded the low estate of his hand-maiden; he has put down the mighty from their seats, and exalted them of low degree." Secondly, He was humble in his life: he kept no court, but in deserts and mountains, and in solitary places; neither was he served in state, his attendants being of the mechanick size. By the miracles he wrought, we may understand the food he eat, viz. barley-bread and fish; and it is not to be thought there was any curiosity in dressing them. And we have reason to believe his apparel was as moderate as his table. Thirdly, He was humble in his sufferings and death: he took all affronts patiently, and in our nature triumphed over revenge: he was despised, spit upon, buffeted, whipped, and finally crucified between two thieves, as the greatest malefactor; yet he never reviled them, but answered all in silence and submission, pitying, loving, and dying for those, by whom he was ignominiously put to death. O mirror of humility! Let your eyes be continually upon it, that you may see yourselves by it. Indeed his whole life was one continued great act of self-denial: and because he needed it not for himself, he must needs do it for us; "thereby leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps," 1 Pet. ii. 21. And as he was, we should be in this world, according to the beloved disciple, 1 John ii. 6. So what he did for us, was not to excuse,

but

but excite, our humility. For as *he* is like *God*, we must be like *him*; and that the froward, the contentious, the revengeful, the striker, the dueller, &c. cannot be said to be of that number, is very evident. And the more to illustrate this virtue, I would have you consider the folly and danger of *pride*, its opposite: for this it was that threw the angels out of heaven, man out of paradise, destroyed cities and nations, was one of the sins of Sodom, Ezek. xvi. 49. the destruction of Assyria and Israel, Isa. iii. 16. and the reason given by God for his great vengeance upon Moab and Ammon, Zeph. ii. 9, 10. Besides, pride is the vainest passion that can rule in man, because he has nothing of his *own* to be proud of; and to be proud of *another's*, shews want of wit and honesty too. He did not only not make himself, but is born the nakedest and most helpless of almost all creatures. Nor can he add to his days or stature, or so much as make one hair of his head white or black. He is so absolutely in the power of another, that, as I have often said, he is at best but a tenant at will of the great Lord of all, holding life, health, substance, and every thing at his sovereign disposal; and the more man enjoys, the less reason he has to be proud, because he is the more indebted, and engaged to thankfulness and humility.

Wherefore avoid pride, as you would avoid the devil; remember you must die, and consequently those things must die with you, that could be any temptation to pride; and that there is a judgment follows, at which you must give an account, both for what you have enjoyed and done.

§. 2. From humility springs MEEKNESS. Of all the rare qualities of wisdom, learning, valour, &c. with which Moses was endued, he was denominated by his meekness: this gave the rest a lustre they must otherwise have wanted. The difference is not great between these excellent graces; yet the scripture observes some, "God will teach the humble his way, and guide the meek in judgment." It seems to be humility perfectly digested, and from a virtue become a nature.

A meek man is one that is not easily provoked, yet easily grieved; not peevish or testy, but soft, gentle, and inoffensive. O blessed will you be, my dear children, if this grace adorn you! There are divers great and precious promises to the meek in scripture. "That God will clothe the meek with salvation;" and "blessed are they, for they shall inherit the earth," Psal. xxxvii. 11. Mat. v. 5. Christ presses it in his own example, "Learn of me, for I am meek," &c. Mat. xi. 29. And requires his to become as little children, in order to salvation, Mat. xviii. 3. And a meek and quiet spirit is of great price with the Lord, 1 Pet. iii. 4. It is a fruit of the Spirit, Gal. v. 22, 23. exhorted to, Eph. iv. 2. Col. iii. 12. Tit. iii. 2. and many places more to the same effect.

§. 3. **PATIENCE**, is an effect of a meek spirit, and flows from it: it is a bearing and suffering disposition; not choleric, or soon moved to wrath, or vindictive; but ready to hear, and endure too, rather than be swift and hasty in judgment or action. Job is as much famed for this, as was Moses for the other virtue; without it there is no running the Christian race, or obtaining the heavenly crown; without it there can be no experience of the work of God, Rom. v. 3, 4, 5. "For *patience* worketh," saith the apostle, "*experience*;" nor hope of an eternal recompence, for *experience* worketh that *hope*. Therefore, says James, "Let patience have its perfect work," James i. 4. It has made the saints excellency; "Here is the patience of the saints," Rev. xiii. 10. It is joined with the kingdom of Christ, Rev. i. 9. Read Luke xxi. 19. "In patience possess your souls." Rom. xii. 12. chap. xv. 4. 2 Cor. vi. 4. 1 Thes. v. 14. "Be patient towards all men," Tit. ii. 2. Heb. vi. 12. chap. x. 36. which shews the excellency and necessity of patience, as that does the true dignity of a man. It is wise, and will give you great advantage over those you converse with, on all accounts. For passion blinds mens eyes, and betrays mens weakness; patience sees the advantage, and improves it. Patience enquires, deliberates, and brings to a mature judgment: through

through your civil, as well as Christian course, you cannot act wisely and safely without it; therefore I recommend this blessed virtue to you.

§. 4. Shew **MERCY**, whenever it is in your power; that is, forgive, pity, and help, for so it signifies. Mercy is one of the attributes of God, Gen. xix. 19. Exod. xx. 6. Psalm lxxxvi. 15. Jer. iii. 12. It is exalted in scripture above all his works, and is a noble part of his image in man. God hath recommended it, Hof. xii. 6. "Keep mercy and judgment, and wait on the Lord." God hath shewn it to man, and made it his duty, Mich. vi. 8. "He hath shewed thee, O man, what is good, and what doth the Lord require of thee, but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly," or to humble thyself to walk, "with thy God:" a short but ample expression of God's love, and man's duty; happy are you if you mind it; in which you see mercy is one of the noblest virtues. Christ has a blessing for them that have it, "Blessed are the merciful, (Mat. v.) for they shall find mercy;" a strong motive indeed. In Luke vi. 35, 36. he commands it. "Be you merciful, as your Father is merciful." He bids the Jews, that were so over-righteous, but so very unmerciful, learn what this meaneth; "I will have mercy, and not sacrifice," Mat. ix. 13. He hit them in the eye. And in his parable of the lord and his servants, he shews what will be the end of the unmerciful steward, Mat. xviii. 34, 35. that having been forgiven much by his master, would not forgive a little to his fellow-servant. Mercy is a great part of God's law, Exod. xxiii. 4, 5. It is a material part of God's true fast, Isa. lviii. 6, 7. It is a main part of God's covenant, Jer. xxxi. 34. Heb. viii. 12. And the reason and rule of the last judgment, Mat. xxv. 31. to the end: pray read it. It is a part of the undefiled religion, James i. 27. chap. iii. 17. Read Prov. xiv. 21, 22. But the merciful man's mercy reaches farther, even to his beast; then surely to man, his fellow-creature, he shall not want it. Wherefore, I charge you, oppress nobody, man nor beast. Take no advantage upon the unhappy; pity the afflicted; make their case
your

your own, and that of *their* wives and poor innocent children the condition of *yours*, and you cannot want sympathy, bowels, forgiveness, nor a disposition to help and succour them to your ability. Remember it is the way for you to be forgiven, and helped in time of trial. Read the Lord's prayer, Luke xi. Remember the nature and goodness of Joseph to his brethren; follow the example of the good Samaritan, and let Edom's unkindness to Jacob's stock, Obad. 10—16. and the Heathen's to Israel, Zech. i. 21. chap. ii. 8, 9. be a warning to you. Read also Prov. xxv. 21, 22. Rom. xii. 19, 20.

§. 5. CHARITY is a near neighbour to mercy. It is generally taken to consist in this, 'Not to be censorious, and to relieve the poor.' For the first, remember you must be judged, Mat. vii. 1. And for the last, remember you are but stewards. "Judge not, therefore, lest you be judged." Be clear yourselves, before you sling the stone. Get the beam out of your own eye; it is humbling doctrine, but safe. Judge, therefore, at your own peril: see it be righteous judgment, as you will answer it to the great Judge. This part of charity also excludes whispering, backbiting, tale-bearing, evil-surmising, most pernicious follies and evils, of which beware. Read 1 Cor. xiii. For the other part of charity, relieving the poor, it is a debt you owe to God: you have all you have or may enjoy, with the rent-charge upon it. The saying is, 'He who gives to the poor, lends to the Lord:' but it may be said, not improperly, 'The Lord lends to *us* to give to the *poor*:' they are, at least, partners by providence with you, and have a right you must not defraud them of. You have this privilege, indeed, when, what, and to whom; and yet, if you heed your guide, and observe the object, you will have a rule for that too.

I recommend little children, widows, infirm and aged persons, chiefly to you: spare something out of your own belly, rather than let theirs go pinched. Avoid that great sin of needless expence on your persons and on your houses, while the poor are hungry and naked. My bowels have often been moved, to see very aged and infirm

infirm people, but especially poor helpless children, lie all night, in bitter weather, at the threshold of doors, in the open streets, for want of better lodging. I have made this reflection, ‘ If you were so exposed, how hard ‘ would it be to endure !’ The difference between *our* condition and *theirs* has drawn from me humble thanks to God, and great compassion, and some supply, to those poor creatures. Once more, be good to the poor: what do I say? Be just to *them*, and you will be good to *your-selves*: think it your duty, and do it religiously. Let the moving passage, Mat. xxv. 35. to the end, live in your minds: “ I was *an hungry*, and *thirsty*, and *naked*, “ *sick*, and in *prison*, and you administered unto “ me,” and the blessing that followed: also what he said to another sort, “ I was *an hungry*, and *thirsty*, and “ *naked*, and *sick*, and in *prison*, and you administered “ not unto me !” For a dreadful sentence follows to the hard-hearted world. “ Woe be to them that take the “ poor’s pledge,” Ezek. xviii. 12, 13. or eat up the poor’s *right*. O devour not *their* part! lest lay it out in *vanity*, or lays it up in *bags*, for it will curse the *rest*. Hear what the Psalmist says, Psal. xli. “ Blessed is he “ that considereth the poor, the Lord will deliver him “ in time of trouble: the Lord will preserve and keep “ him alive, and he shall be blessed upon the earth: “ and thou wilt not deliver him into the will of his “ enemies. The Lord will strengthen him upon the “ bed of languishing: thou wilt make all his bed in “ his sickness.” This is the reward of being faithful stewards and treasurers for the poor of the earth. Have a care of excuses; they are, I know, ready at hand: but read Prov. iii. 27, 28, “ With-hold not good from “ them to whom it is due, when it is in the power of “ of thine hand to do it. Say not unto thy neighbour, “ Go, and come again, and to-morrow I will give, “ when thou hast it by thee.” Also bear in mind Christ’s doctrine, Mat. v. 42. “ Give to him that ask- “ eth thee, and from him that would borrow of thee, “ turn not thou away.” But above all, remember the poor woman, that gave her mite; which Christ preferred
above.

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above all, because she gave all, but it was to God's treasury, Mark xii. 42, 43, 44.

§. 6. **LIBERALITY**, or *bounty*, is a noble quality in man, entertained of few, yet praised of all; but the covetous dislike it, because it reproaches their fordidness. In this she differs from *charity*, that she has sometimes *other* objects, and exceeds in proportion. For she will cast her eye on those that do *not* absolutely *want*, as well as those that *do*; and always outdoes necessities and services. She finds out virtue in a low degree, and exalts it. She eases their burden that labour hard to live: many kind and generous spells such find at her hand, that do not quite want, whom she thinks worthy. The decayed are sure to hear of her: she takes one child, and puts out another, to lighten the loads of overcharged parents; more, to the fatherless. She shews the value of services, in her rewards; and is never debtor to kindnesses, but will be creditor on all accounts. Where another gives six-pence, the liberal man gives his shilling; and returns double the tokens he receives. But liberality keeps temper too; she is not extravagant, any more than she is fordid; for she hates niggards feasts, as much as niggards fasts; and as she is free, and not starched, so she is plentiful, but not superfluous and extravagant. You will hear of her in all histories, especially in scripture, the wisest as well as best of books: her excellency and her reward are there. She is commanded and commended, Deut. xv. 3, 4, 7, 8. and Psalm xxxvii. 21, 26. "The righteous sheweth mercy, and giveth; and the good man is merciful, and ever lendeth. He shews favour, and lendeth, and disperseth abroad." Psalm cxii. 5, 9. "There is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that with-holdeth more than is meet, but it tendeth to poverty: the liberal soul shall be fat," Prov. xi. 24, 25. "The bountiful eye shall be blessed:" Prov. xxii. 9. The churl, and liberal man, are described, and a promise to the latter, that his liberality shall uphold him, Isa. xxxii. 78. Christ makes it a part of his religion, and the way to be the children of the highest

highest (read Luke vi. 34, 35.) to lend and not receive again, and this to enemies, as well as friends; yea, to the unthankful, and to the evil; no exception made, no excuse admitted. The apostle Paul, 2 Cor. ix. 5, 10. enjoins it, threatens the strait-handed, and promises the open-hearted a liberal reward.

Wheresoever, therefore, my dear children, liberality is required of you, God enabling of you, sow not sparingly nor grudgingly, but with a cheerful mind, and you shall not go without your reward; though that ought not to be your motive. But avoid ostentation, for that is using virtue to vanity, which will run you to profuseness, and that to want; which begets greediness, and that avarice, the contrary extreme; as men may go westward till they come east, and travel till they, and those they left behind them, stand antipodes, up and down.

§. 7. JUSTICE, or *righteousness*, is another attribute of God, Deut. xxxii. 4. Psalm ix. 7, 8. v. 8. Dan. ix. 7. Of large extent in the life and duty of man. Be just, therefore, in all things, to all: to God, as your Creator; render to him that which is his, your hearts; for that acknowledgment he has reserved to himself, by which only you are intitled to the comforts of this and a better life. And if he has your hearts, you have him for your treasure, and with him all things requisite to your felicity. Render also to Cæsar that which is his, lawful subjection; not for fear only, but conscience sake. To parents, a filial love and obedience. To one another, natural affection. To all people, in doing as you would be done by. Hurt no man's name or person. Covet no man's property in any sort. Consider well of David's tenderness to Saul, when he sought his life, to excite your duty; and Ahab's unjust covetousness, and murder of Naboth, to provoke your abhorrence of injustice. David, though anointed king, took no advantages; "he believed, and therefore did not make haste," but left it to God, to conclude Saul's reign, for he would not hasten it. A right method, and a good end,

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end, my dear children ; God has shewn it you, and requires it of you.

Remember the tenth commandment : it was God gave it, and that will judge you by it. It comprehends restitution, as well as acquisition, and especially the poor man's wages, Lev. xix. 13. Deut. xxiv. 14, 15. Jer. xxii. 13. Amos v. 11. Mal. iii. 5. Samuel is a great and good example of righteousness, 1 Sam. xii. 3. He challenged the whole house of Israel, whom he had oppressed or defrauded. The like did the apostle to the Corinthians, 2 Cor. vii. 2. He exhorted the Christians to be careful that they did not defraud, 1 Thes. iv. 6. for this reason, " that God was the avenger of the injured." But as bad as it was, there must be no going to law amongst Christians, 1 Cor. vi. 7. To your utmost power, therefore, owe no one any thing but love, and that in prudence, as well as righteousness : for justice gives you reputation, and adds a blessing to your substance : it is the best security you can have for it.

I will close this head, with a few scriptures to each branch. To your superiors : " Submit yourselves to every ordinance of man, for the *Lord's* sake : " 1 Pet. ii. 13. " Obey those that have the rule over you," Heb. xiii. 17. " Speak not evil of dignities," Jude viii. 2 Pet. ii. 10. " My son, fear thou the Lord and the king, " and meddle not with them that are given to change," Prov. xxiv. 21. To your parents : " Honour your father and your mother, that your days may be long " in the land which the Lord your God shall give you," Exod. xx. 12. " Children, obey your parents, it is the first command with *promise*," Ephes. vi. 1, 2. Great judgments follow those that disobey this law, and defraud their parents of their due. " Whoso robbeth his father or his mother, and saith, It is no transgression, " the same is the companion of a destroyer," Prov. xxviii. 24. Or such would *destroy* their parents, if they could. It is charged by the prophet Ezekiel upon Jerusalem, as a mark of her wicked state : " In thee have thy princes set lightly by father and mother, oppressed " strangers, and vexed fatherless and widows," Ezek. xxii.

xxii. 6, 7. To thy neighbour : hear what God's servants taught. "To do justice and judgment, is more acceptable to the Lord, than sacrifice," Prov. xxi. 3. "Divers weights and measures are alike abomination unto the Lord," Levit. xix. 36. Deut. xxv. 13 to 16. inclusive. Prov. xi. 1. chap. xx. 10, 23. Read Prov. xxii. 16, 22, 23. chap. xxiii. 10, 11. Peruse the vith. of Micah, also Zech. viii. 16, 17. and especially the xvth. Psalm, as a short, but full, measure of life, to give acceptance with God.

I have said but little to you of distributing justice, or being just in power or government ; for I should desire you may never be concerned therein, unless it were upon your own principles ; and then the less the better, unless God require it from you. But if it ever be your lot, know no man after the flesh ; know neither rich nor poor, great nor small, nor kindred, nor stranger, but the *cause*, according to your understanding and conscience, and that upon deliberate enquiry and information. Read Exod. xxiii. from 1 to 10. Deut. i. 16, 17. chap. xvi. 19, 20. chap. xxiv. 17. 2 Sam. xxiii. 3. Jer. xxii. 3, 4. Prov. xxiv. 23. Lam. iii. 35, 36. Hof. xii. 6. Amos viii. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. Zeph. ii. 3. chap. iii. 1, 3. Zech. vii. 9, 10. Jer. v. 4, 5, 6. chap. viii. 6, 7. which shews both God's commands and complaints, and man's duty in authority ; which, as I said before, wave industriously at all times ; for privacy is freed from the clamour, danger, incumbrance, and temptation, that attend stations in government : never meddle with it, but for *God's* sake.

§. 8. INTEGRITY, is a great and commendable virtue. A man of integrity, is a *true* man, a *bold* man, and a *steady* man ; he is to be trusted and relied upon. No bribes can corrupt him ; no fear daunt him, his word is *slow* in coming, but *sure*. He shines brightest in the fire, and his friend hears of him most, when he most *needs* him. His courage grows with danger, and conquers opposition by constancy. As he cannot be flattered or frighted into that he dislikes, so he hates flattery and temporizing in others. He runs with truth, and not with the times ; with right, and not with might.

His rule is straight; soon *seen*, but seldom *followed*: it hath done great things. It was *integrity* preferred Abel's offering, translated Enoch, saved Noah, raised Abraham to be God's friend, and father of a great nation, rescued Lot out of Sodom, blessed and increased Jacob, kept and exalted Joseph, upheld and restored Job, honoured Samuel before Israel, crowned David over all difficulties, and gave Solomon peace and glory, while he kept it: it was this preserved Mordecai and his people, and so signally defended Daniel among the lions, and the children in the flames, that it drew from the greatest king upon earth, and an *beaten* too, a most pathetic confession to the *power* and *wisdom* of the *God* that saved them, and which they served. Thus is the scripture fulfilled, "The integrity of the upright shall guide them." Prov. xi. 3. O my dear children! fear, love, and obey this *great, holy, and unchangeable God*, and you shall be happily guided, and preserved through your pilgrimage to eternal glory.

§. 9. GRATITUDE, or *thankfulness*, is another virtue of great lustre, and so esteemed with God, and all good men: it is an owning of benefits received, to their honour and service that confer them. It is, indeed, a noble sort of justice, and might, in a sense, be referred as a branch to that head; with this difference though, 'That since benefits exceed justice, the tie is greater to be grateful, than to be just;' and consequently there is something baser, and more reproachful, in *ingratitude* than *injustice*. So that though you are not obliged, by legal bonds or judgments, to restitution with due interest, your virtue, honour, and humanity, are natural pledges for your thankfulness: and by how much the less you are under external ties, esteem your inward ties so much the stronger. Those that can break them, would know no bounds: for make it a rule to you, the ungrateful would be unjust too, but for fear of the law. Always own, therefore, the benefits you receive; and then, to chuse, when they may most honour or serve those that conferred

ferred them. Some have lived to need the favours they have done; and should they be put to ask, where they ought to be invited? No matter if they have nothing to shew for it; they shew enough, when they shew themselves to those they have obliged: and such see enough to induce their gratitude, when they see their benefactors in adversity; the less law, the more grace, and the stronger tie. It is an evangelical virtue, and works as faith does, only by *love*: in this it exactly resembles a Christian state; we are not under the law, but under grace, and it is by grace, and not by merit, that we are saved. But are our obligations the less to God, that he heaps his favours so undeservedly upon us? Surely no. It is the like here; that which we receive is not owed, or compelled, but freely given; so no tie, but choice, a *voluntary* goodness without bargain or condition: but has this therefore no security? Yes, certainly, the greatest; a judgment writ and acknowledged in the mind: he is his to the *altar*, with a *good conscience*: but how long? As long as he lives. The characters of gratitude, like those of friendship, are only defaced by death, else indelible. "A friend loveth at all times," says Solomon, Prov. xvii. 17. c. xxvii. 10. "And thine own friend, and thy father's friend, forsake not." It is *injustice*, which makes gratitude a *precept*. There are three sorts of men that can hardly be grateful: the fearful man, for in danger he loses his heart, with which he should help his friend: the proud man, for he takes that virtue for a reproach: he that unwillingly remembers he owes any thing to God, will not readily remember he is beholden to man. History lays it to the charge of some of this sort of great men, that, uneasy to see the authors of their greatness, have not been quiet, till they have accomplished the ruin of those that raised them. Lastly, The covetous man is as ill at it as the other two; his gold has spoiled his memory, and will not let him dare be grateful, though perhaps he owes the best part, at least the beginning of it, to another's favour. As

there is nothing more unworthy in a man, so nothing in man so frequently reproached in scripture. How often does God put the Jews in mind for their forgetfulness and unthankfulness for the mercies and favours they received from him, read Deut. xxxii. 15. "Je-
 "hurun waxed fat, and kicked against God, grew un-
 "mindful, *forgot* and *forsook* his Rock, that had done
 "mighty things for him." Thus Moses, Deut. xxxi.
 16, 17. Also Judg. x, 11, 12, 13. and 1 Sam. viii. 8.
 David likewise, in his lxxviii, cv, cvi. Psalms, gives
 an history of God's love to Israel, and their ingrati-
 tude. So Isa. xvii. 1 to 11. Likewise Jer. ii. 31,
 32. c. v. 7 to 20. c. xv. 6. c. xvi. 10, 11, 12, 20, 21.
 c. xviii. 15. Hof. viii. 9. It is a mark of apostacy
 from Christianity, by the apostle, 2 Tim. iii. 2.

§. 10. DILIGENCE, is another virtue, useful and laud-
 able among men: it is a discreet and understanding
 application of one's self to business; and avoids the
 extremes of idleness and drudgery. It gives great
 advantages to men: it loses no time, it conquers dif-
 ficulties, recovers disappointments, gives dispatch,
 supplies want of parts; and is that to them, which a
 pond is to a spring; though it has no water of itself,
 it will keep what it gets, and is never dry. Though
 that has the heels, this has the wind; and often wins
 the prize. Nor does it only concern handicrafts and
 bodily affairs; the mind is also engaged, and grows
 foul, rusty, and distempered without it. It belongs
 to you, throughout your whole man: be no more
 fauntering in your minds than in your bodies. And
 if you would have the full benefit of this virtue, do
 not baulk it by a confused mind. Shun diversions;
 think only of the present business, till that be done.
 Be busy to purpose; for a busy man, and a man of
 business, are two different things. Lay your matters
 right, and diligence succeeds them; else pains are lost.
 How laborious are some to no purpose! Consider your
 end well, suit your means to it, and then diligently
 employ them, and you arrive where you would be,
 with God's blessing. Solomon praises diligence very
 highly.

highly. First, It is the way to wealth: "The diligent hand makes rich," Prov. x. 4. "The soul of the diligent shall be made fat," ch. xiii. 4. There is a promise to it, and one of another sort to the sluggard, ch. xxiii. 21. Secondly, It prefers men, ver. 29. "Seest thou a man diligent in his business, he shall stand before kings." Thirdly, It preserves an estate: "Be thou diligent to know the state of thy flocks, and look well to thy herd; for riches are not for ever," ch. xxvii. 23, 24. There is no living upon the principal; you must be diligent to preserve what you have, whether it be acquisition or inheritance; else it will consume. In short, the wise man advises, "Whatsoever thy hand finds to do, do it with thy might." Eccl. ix. 10. As it mends a temporal state, no spiritual one can be got or kept without it. Moses earnestly presses it upon the Israelites, Deut. iv. 9. and 6. 7. The apostle Paul commends it in the Corinthians, and Titus to them for that reason, 2 Cor. viii. 7, 22. So he does Timothy to the Philippians on the same account, and urges them to work out their salvation, Phil. ii. 12, 20, 21. Peter also exhorts the churches to that purpose: "Wherefore the rather, brethren," says he, "give diligence to make your calling and election sure: for if you do these things you shall never fail," 2 Pet. i. 10. and in ch. iii. 13, 14. "Wherefore beloved, seeing that you look for such things," (the end of the world, and last judgment) "be diligent, that you may be found of him in peace, without spot, and blameless." Thus diligence is an approved virtue: but remember, that is a reasonable pursuit or execution of honest purposes, and not an overcharging or oppressive prosecution, to mind or body, of most lawful enterprizes. Abuse it not, therefore, to ambition or avarice. Let necessity, charity, and conveniency govern it, and it will be well employed, and you may expect prosperous returns.

§. 11. FRUGALITY is a virtue too, and not of little use in life; the better way to be rich, for it has less

toil and temptation. It is proverbial, "A penny saved is a penny got:" it has a significant moral; for this way of getting is more in your own power, and less subject to hazard, as well as snares, free of envy, void of suits, and is before-hand with calamities. For many get, that cannot keep; and for want of frugality, spend what they get, and so come to want what they have spent. But have a care of the extreme: want not with abundance, for that is avarice, even to fordidness; it is fit you consider children, age, and casualties; but never pretend those things, to palliate and gratify covetousness. As I would have you liberal, but not prodigal; and diligent, but not drudging; so I would have you frugal, but not fordid. If you can, lay up one half of your income for those uses; in which let charity have at least the second consideration; but not Judas's, for that was in the wrong place.

§. 12. TEMPERANCE I most earnestly recommend to you, throughout the whole course of your life: it is numbered amongst "the fruits of the spirit. Gal. xxii. 23. and is a great and requisite virtue. Properly and strictly speaking, it refers to diet; but in general may be considered as having relation to all the affections and practices of men. I will therefore begin with it in regard to food, the sense in which it is customarily taken. Eat to live, and not live to eat, for that is below a beast. Avoid curiosities and provocations; let your chiefest sauce be a good stomach, which temperance will help to get you. You cannot be too plain in your diet, so you are clean; nor too sparing, so you have enough for nature. For that which keeps the body low, makes the spirit clear; as silence makes it strong. It conduces to good digestion, that to good rest, and that to a firm constitution. Much less *feast* any, except the poor; as Christ taught, Luke xiv. 12, 13. For entertainments are rarely without sin: but receive strangers readily. As in diet, so in apparel, observe, I charge you, an exemplary plainness. Choose your clothes for their usefulness,

fulness, not the fashion; and for covering, and not finery, or to please a vain mind, in yourselves or others: they are *fallen* souls, that think clothes can give beauty to man. "The life is more than raiment." Matt. vi. 25. Man cannot mend God's work, who can give neither life nor parts. They shew little esteem for the wisdom and power of their Creator, that under-rate his workmanship (I was a going to say his image) to a taylor's invention: gross folly and profanity! but do you, my dear children, call to mind who they were of old, that Jesus said, took so much care about what they should eat, drink, and put on. Were they not Gentiles, Heathens, a people without God in the world? Read Matt. vi. and when you have done that, peruse those excellent passages of the apostles Paul and Peter, 1 Tim. ii. 9, 10. and 1 Pet. iii. 3, 5. where, if you find the exhortation to women only, conclude it was effeminate, and a shame then for men to use such arts and cost upon their persons. Follow you the example of those primitive Christians, and not voluptuous Gentiles, that perverted the very order of things: for they set lust above nature, and the means above the end, and preferred vanity to conveniency: a wanton excess, that has no sense of God's mercies, and therefore cannot make a right use of them, and less yield the returns they deserve. In short, these intemperances are great enemies to health and to posterity; for they disease the body, rob children, and disappoint charity, and are of evil example; very catching, as well as pernicious evils. Nor do they end there: they are succeeded by other vices, which made the apostle put them together in his epistle to the Galatians, chap. v. 20, 21. The evil fruits of this part of intemperance, are so many and great, that, upon a serious reflection, I believe there is not a country, town, or family, almost, that does not labour under the mischief of it. I recommend to your perusal the first part of "No Cross, No Crown," and of the "Address to Protestants," in which I am more particular in my censure of it:

as are the authorities I bring in favour of moderation. But the virtue of temperance does not only regard eating, drinking, and apparel; but furniture, attendance, expence, gain, parsimony, business, diversion, company, speech, sleeping, watchings, and every passion of the mind, love, anger, pleasure, joy, sorrow, resentment, are all concerned in it: therefore bound your desires, teach your wills subjection, take Christ for your example, as well as guide. It was he that led and taught a life of faith in providence, and told his disciples the danger of the cares and pleasures of this world; they choaked the seed of the kingdom, stifled and extinguished virtue in the soul, and rendered man barren of good fruit. His sermon upon the mount is one continued divine authority in favour of an universal temperance. The apostle, well aware of the necessity of this virtue, gave the Corinthians a seasonable caution. "Know ye not," says he, "that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? So run that ye may obtain. And every man that striveth for mastery, (or seeketh *victory*) is temperate in all things:" (he acts discreetly, and with a right judgment.) "Now, *they* do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but *we* an incorruptible. I therefore so run, as not uncertainly; so fight I, not as one that beateth the air: but I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection; lest that by any means, when I have preached to others, I myself should become a castaway," 1 Cor. ix. 25, 27. In an another chapter he presses the temperance almost to indifferency: "But this I say, brethren, the time is short: it remaineth then, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none; and those that weep, as though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not; and they that use this world, as not abusing it." And all this is not without reason: he gives a very good one for it. "For," saith he, "the fashion of the world passeth away: but I would have you without carefulness," 1 Cor. vii. 29.—32. It was for this cause he pressed it

it so hard upon Titus to warn the elders of that time to be sober, grave, temperate, Tit. ii. 2. not eager, violent, obstinate, tenacious, or inordinate in any sort. He makes it an indispensable duty in pastors of churches, that they be "not self-willed, soon angry, given to wine or filthy lucre, but lovers of hospitality, of good men, sober, just, holy, temperate," Tit. i. 7, 8. And why so? Because against these excellent virtues "there is no law," Gal. v. 23.

I will shut up this head (being touched upon in divers places of this advice) with this one most comprehensive passage of the apostle, Philip. iv. 5. "Let your moderation be known unto all men, for the Lord is at hand." As if he had said, 'Take heed! look to your ways! have a care what ye do! for the Lord is near you, even at the door; he sees you, he marks your steps, tells your wanderings, and he will judge you.' Let this excellent, this home and close sentence live in your minds: let it ever dwell upon your spirits, my beloved children, and influence all your actions, aye, your affections and thoughts. It is a noble measure, sufficient to regulate the whole; they that have it, are easy as well as safe. No extreme prevails; the world is kept at arm's-end; and such have power over their own spirits, which gives them the truest enjoyment of themselves and what they have: a dominion greater than that of empires. O may this virtue be yours! you have grace from God for that end, and it is sufficient: employ it, and you cannot miss of temperance, nor therein of the truest happiness in all your conduct.

§. 13. I have chosen to speak in the language of the scripture; which is that of the Holy Ghost, the spirit of truth and wisdom, that wanted no art or direction of man to speak by, and express itself fully to man's understanding. But yet that blessed PRINCIPLE, the ETERNAL WORD, I begun with to you, and which is that light, spirit, grace and truth, I have exhorted you to in all its holy appearances or manifestations in yourselves,

yourselfes, by which all things were at first made, and man enlightened to salvation, is

Pythagoras's Great Light and Salt of Ages :

Anaxagoras's Divine Mind :

Socrates's Good Spirit.

Timeus's Unbegotten Principle, and Author of all Light :

Hieron's God in Man :

Plato's Eternal, Ineffable, and Perfect Principle of Truth :

Zeno's Maker and Father of all : and

Plotin's Root of the Soul :

Who as they thus stiled the ETERNAL WORD, so for the appearance of it in man, they wanted not very significant words :

“ A Domestick God, or God within,” say *Hieron, Pythagoras, Epictetus, and Seneca.*

“ Genius, Angel, or Guide,” say *Socrates and Timeus.*

“ The Light and Spirit of God,” says *Plato :*

“ The Divine Principle in Man,” says *Plotin :*

“ The Divine Power and Reason, the Infallible, “ Immortal Law in the Minds of men,” says *Philo :*
and

“ The Law and Living Rule of the Mind, the Interior Guide of the Soul, and Everlasting Foundation of Virtue,” says *Plutarch.*

Of which you may read more in the first Part of “ The Christian Quaker,” and in the “ Confutation of Atheism, by Dr. Cudworth.”

These are some of those virtuous Gentiles commended by the apostle, Rom. ii. 13, 14, 15. who though they had not the law given to them, as the Jews had, with those instrumental helps and advantages, yet doing by nature the things contained in the law, they became a law unto themselves.

WILLIAM PENN.

F I N I S.

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